

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1994 FESTIVAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLIFE

July 1-4 & July 7-10

*On Cartisuitup Island in Kuna Yala,
the Kuna Indian reserve of San Blas, Panama,
a mola artisan stitches a cut design to a layer of cloth.
Molas have become an integral part of Kuna culture
and identity, and a significant component of the Kuna
economy that specifically empowers women.*



Photo by Marlyn Salvador

On The Cover

Jackson Burnside celebrated Junkanoo as a member of Percy "Volá" Francis's Great Goombay Dancers in Nassau, The Bahamas. Junkanoo grew out of annual African celebrations in the late 18th century. The Junkanoo "rush" has evolved into a judged parade, held on Boxing Day and New Year's Day, where rival groups compete for best costume, best music, and best overall presentation.

Photo courtesy The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism

Back Cover

Villagers pray and make merit at the elaborately gilded Wat Prathad Doi Suthep in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand.

Photo by Charlene Day

S M I T H S O N I A N
I N S T I T U T I O N

1994
Festival
of
American
Folklife

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT
IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

THAILAND:
HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

THE COMMONWEALTH OF
THE BAHAMAS

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS:
THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS
NATIONAL HERITAGE FELLOWS

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EDITORS: Carla Borden & Peter Seitler

ART DIRECTOR: Joan Wolbier

DESIGNER: Kenn Shrader

DESIGN ASSISTANTS: William Harold Riddle & Kelcey Dodds Seefeldt

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Reflections on the Festival

Robert McC. Adams
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

It is an honor for the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife this year to host programs on the traditions of The Bahamas, the culture of Thailand, and on *Culture & Development* and *Masters of Traditional Arts*. In The Bahamas program, Americans will find intriguing connections to a shared history embodied in the traditions of the descendants of Africans, free and enslaved, British Loyalists, Seminoles, and many other immigrants. More than just beautiful sun, sea, and sand, The Bahamas, and especially its Family Islands, are home to a rich diversity of cultural communities and practices. Also on the Mall, yet half a world away, is Thailand, a nation that never acceded to colonial rule and whose ancient traditions are very much alive in contemporary households, temples, and the royal court. Given the growing economic and political importance of Asia and the Pacific Rim, we are well served by better understanding Thailand's cultural traditions. The program on Culture and Development, a collaborative effort with the Inter-American Foundation, recognizes the value of local cultural resources and practitioners and their role in development efforts. A strategy of appropriately utilizing a community's cultural resources often succeeds not only in stimulating economic growth, but also in promoting self-worth and popular participation in civic life. The program on Masters of Traditional Arts pays tribute to National Heritage Fellowship awardees from 17 states representing a broad range of American traditions. The awards, made annually by the National Endowment for the Arts, honor our human national treasures, those exemplary folk whose fine art expresses the history, identity, beliefs, and values of their communities.

These programs are more than just separate living exhibits. As a whole, they demonstrate quite convincingly that across the United States and around the world, traditional culture is with us, not just as atomistic survivals, but as part of social fabrics woven by individuals, communities, and nations. The folks at the Festival live contemporary lives. They are just as contemporary as the genetic engineer, cable television network shopper, or government bureaucrat. The traditions they carry are embedded in modern life. Yes, sometimes we find these traditions are on the margins, but most often they are in an ongoing, creative tension with new innovations and technical

and social changes. These traditional ways of doing, making, and being are continually, sometimes even daily, reinvented and applied to the circumstances of individual and institutional life. Innovation and tradition are not opposites, but are processually related to how we use our cultural inheritance – whether that be in music or the museum, handicraft or statecraft – to define and shape the future.

This Festival provides the public with a wonderful way to make these particular and general discoveries. The Festival is educational and entertaining, fun and serious, conceptual and personal, immense and intimate. As such, the Festival conjoins worlds we heretofore kept apart. Yet with a movement toward "infotainment," living history museums and historical theme parks, multimedia publications and classrooms, we are seeing new ways of increasing and diffusing knowledge – ways the Smithsonian will have to consider deeply as it approaches the next century.

Reflecting recently on the Smithsonian's current programs and future, I was struck that the Festival provides a kind of paradigm. The Festival exemplifies, and possibly provided the original groundwork for, so many things we now recognize as among our essentials: attention to the diversity of our cultural life, for example; the development of a dialogue and collaboration with the people whose traditions and aspirations we are seeking to represent; the sense of museums, and museum staffs, without walls or professionalized barriers of exclusion; and a readiness to tackle difficult and sensitive issues like cultural survival, equity, access to resources, and seemingly intractable ethnic differences.

Ralph Rinzler, the Festival's founder, saw this role for the Festival early on. And he saw the flowering of the Festival into documentary films, Smithsonian / Folkways sound recordings, educational materials, books, CD-ROMs, traveling exhibits, festivals "back home," and other forms. He also saw that the Festival could have a positive effect on individuals, communities, public and civic institutions, promoting the continuity, understanding, and appreciation of cultural diversity. For his achievements in helping the Smithsonian combine solid scholarship with community service, grassroots collaboration, and high-quality public education, a legacy that is here to stay, Ralph was earlier this year awarded the Secretary's Medal for Exceptional Service.

The Festival, Culturally Speaking

Bruce Babbitt
Secretary of the Interior

The National Mall in Washington, D.C., is a symbolic center of our country. Framed by monuments to Presidents Washington and Lincoln and their singular accomplishments, the Mall begins at the U.S. Capitol, where our participatory democracy is constantly renewed. Bordered by the Smithsonian's national museums, which enshrine our knowledge of history, culture, science, and the arts, the Mall is home to our national civic rites – presidential inaugurations, Independence Day festivities, and victory celebrations. The Mall is also our national town square, where generations of Americans have gathered to speak to each other, to represent themselves and their concerns to their fellow citizens.

On the Mall since 1967, the Festival of American Folklife has been a living museum of grassroots culture, presenting to the public a great diversity of people from more than 50 nations, every state and region of the United States, scores of ethnic groups, more than 100 Native American groups, and numerous occupational and cultural communities. Artists, musicians, craftspeople, cooks, storytellers, workers, and other tradition bearers have brought their wisdom, knowledge, art, and skill to the Mall and have shared it with Festival visitors.

We live in an era in which culture becomes increasingly globalized. Information, products, and creative ideas rapidly traverse the planet, reaching its farthest corners. The prospects for unity and accord among humankind based upon shared knowledge and experience have, perhaps, never been greater. At the same time, people here and abroad continue to draw upon their local, regional, community, and grassroots traditions for a needed sense of cultural identity.

Unfortunately, we hear daily of examples where

differences in language, religion, race, and culture also guide people's acts of anger and destruction. These differences need not be a source of conflict. They can be a source of strength and creativity, as they often have been in our own national experience. The world must learn to live with diversity, and to establish ways in which cultural differences can be understood, appreciated, and, indeed, used for the wider benefit of all.

Exhibitions, educational programs, and discussion forums are important activities nurturing public understanding of cultural diversity. The Festival has been a leader in this effort. It is a museum without walls, where people from around the country and the world can speak directly with others about their own history, their own culture, and their own lives. The dialogue created at the Festival, in which cultural traditions can be respectfully presented, discussed, and even passed along, is vital to our continued civic health. Sometimes this dialogue is celebratory, sometimes sobering. But to appreciate its importance, one need only look around the globe to places where cultural conversations have stopped and where they have been replaced by intolerance, abuse of human rights, and violence.

For some 20 years, the Department of the Interior, through the National Park Service and with the cooperation of its other bureaus, has been a proud partner in the Festival, sharing a commitment to broad-based cultural education. We continually engage the American public in every state and territory through our national parks, historical sites, monuments, and memorials. Our work, and our partnership with the Smithsonian and with many others, help Americans understand their cultural heritage and, we genuinely hope, each other.

The Festival: Making Culture Public

by Richard Kurin

The past few years have seen an increasing concern with issues of public cultural representation. A host of symposia and books examine how culture and history have been publicly presented in museums, at Olympics, through the Columbus Quincentenary, presidential inaugurations, festivals, and other mega-events. Controversy now swirls around Disney's America and issues of authenticity and accuracy in the presentation of American history to mass audiences.

More than when the Smithsonian was founded in 1846 for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge," communicating cultural subjects to broad publics is big, and serious, business. New genres of representation are emerging, such as "infotainment," history and culture theme parks, various forms of multimedia, and equivalents of local access cable TV across the globe. Worlds previously separated are becoming conjoined. New technologies from the entertainment industry are entering museums and educational institutions. Entertainment conglomerates are being forced to take responsibility for the ways in which they represent peoples and cultures. The lower cost and wide dissemination of modern technology – tape recorders, video cameras, computers, and fax machines – have broadened the ability of even the most isolated communities to represent themselves to global audiences.

Scholars who engage in and reflect upon these activities find their work traverses the worlds of academia, popular media, and politics. Gone are the days of singular, monological, acontextual studies of civilizations, countries, communities, villages, and cultures. Studies that fail to situate their subjects in a contemporary world of multiple, if not contending, cultural narratives are perilously misleading. Increased attention and analysis need to be devoted to seeing culture within a range of representational forms, generated by community members, politicians, scholars, business people, journalists, film

makers, writers, tour operators, and many others.

In a public institution like the Smithsonian, analysis needs to be coupled with action. Exhibitions, programs, and displays often reflect cultural policies and broad public sentiments, but they may also serve as vehicles for legitimating outdated sentiments and policies as well as encouraging alternative ones. Programs can address public knowledge, discourse, and debate with considerable care, expertise, and ethical responsibility. But scholars and curators have good cause to worry that their efforts will be eclipsed by those with greater access to larger audiences.

How then to understand the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife in this context? What is it? How does it display and represent culture? And what does it suggest about the role of museums and cultural institutions with regard to the people represented?

METAPHORS FOR THE FESTIVAL

I have often wondered whether the Festival is misnamed. The word "festival" is too often used and misused. At first glance, the Festival of American Folklife is not a festival of the same sort as a peasant community's celebration of its harvest, or its freedom. Nor does it seem like a festival of the sort cities sponsor, a list of events dispersed in space and time called an arts festival. Nor does it seem quite like a folk festival – an outdoor concert of pop and revival folk music. Nor does it seem like the international festivals organized by many schools to show off foods, music, games, and costumes only tangentially related to students' lives.

The Festival of American Folklife has been likened to many things. Existing as part of the Smithsonian's museum complex, the Festival has been called a "living museum without walls" and a "living cultural exhibit." Dean Anderson, a former Smithsonian official, offered, "Whereas museum is a noun, Festival is a verb." This highlights the Festival's dynamism and contrasts it with museums,

which in the worst case are lifeless, sterile, and silent. The term "museum" originally meant the "place of the muse." A museum without musings, music, and amusement — words of the same derivation — would seem to run counter to the original purpose. And, indeed, some of the best museums around are renowned for their ability to make us think, participate in and confront the lives of others. The Festival can provoke thought, does have

music, is amusing at times, has museum-like signs, displays, and so on; but is it a museum? Too temporary, say some. Too outdoors, say others. Too frivolous, says a museum curator. Perhaps if only just the objects appeared and not the people who made, use, and understand them, then it would be serious. "Too messy, but in a good way," says another official in charge of museums.

But if not quite a museum, is the Festival more like a zoo, as another colleague once proposed? To be sure, as at a zoo, some living beings come to see other living beings. Zoo organizers provide some information in the form of signs and labels, and try to present creatures with a bit of their natural, home setting. By seeing the creatures, visitors learn about them, appreciate their existence, and sometimes even learn about the larger issues they evoke. Zoo staff do this to help preserve the animals and their habitat as part of our diverse biological heritage. Similarly, Festival organizers present people to visitors to display their culture. Signs, labels, banners, reconstructions of bits of home settings, and photographs help visitors understand and interpret what they see, hear, and sense. Hopefully too, visitors gain an appreciation of displayed traditions, national and world-wide cultural diversity. But there are big differences between the zoo and the Festival. Visitors are just as likely to see themselves on display as "others." And at the Festival, people *talk back* and play the major role in shaping their own self-representation.

There are other metaphors for the Festival. Some people have likened it to a cultural theme park. Others to a street fair and block party. To some it is a series of performances and demonstrations; to



The Festival has provided a forum, a stage, and a microphone for a broad diversity of the nation's and world's people to speak to the public. Festival coordinator Lucille Dawson speaks during a presentation of Native American culture on the Mall for the American Bicentennial in 1976.

Photo by Andrew Wile, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

others, it is an annual lunch break with free entertainment. For some it is an illustrated book of

cultural practice; for the tour minded, a quick and easy trip around the world. For the conspiratorial, it is a form of national theater, in which the state exerts its understandings upon the masses; for the counter conspiratorial it is a demonstration against the cultural hegemony of the state, a reassertion of the people's ability to make their culture and define themselves. For yet others it is merely a good time.

The Festival of American Folklife is a complex form of institutional public cultural display that accomplishes a number of different purposes and occupies a variety of conceptual spaces. It can be seen in a number of different ways, and its successes and failures tallied accordingly.

The Festival was invented by Ralph Rinzler in 1967 with support from then Smithsonian Secretary S. Dillon Ripley and the head of the Division of Performing Arts, James Morris, and help from a score of inventive thinkers from a range of fields. It shared some affinity with folk festivals of the time. Ralph, and Festival supporter Alan Lomax, had for example been part of the folk revival and were organizers of the Newport Folk Festival. Don Yoder's work with the Pennsylvania Folklife Festival and festivals in other countries provided some models for the Smithsonian.

Earlier antecedents existed in forms of cultural display along the lines of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. This attempt to present the exotic cultures of the world on Chicago's Midway Plaisance first engaged and then derailed the public anthropology mission of Frederick Putnam, Otis Mason, and Franz Boas. Crass commercialism, lack of framed presentation, journalistic sensationalism, racism, and a cultural evolutionary framework con-

spired to make the living cultural displays at the Exposition a critical failure.

This was not true at the Smithsonian in the 1960s. The Festival followed in the wake of Rev. Martin Luther King's use of the National Mall as a pulpit to assert civic participation. The Festival was used to signal the presence, voice, and cultural/artistic endowment of American populations underrepresented in public institutions. The Festival signaled to members of Congress that there was culture back home, and that that culture was worthy of national pride and attention. In relation to the museums, the Festival, for Ripley, was a means of livening up the Smithsonian, broadening and enlarging its visitorship.

The Festival has always navigated between the various axes of art (as entertainment), cultural rights (as advocacy), education (as public service), and knowledge (as scholarship and experience). It was originally intended to broaden knowledge, appreciation, and support of art forms and practitioners often overlooked in a society whose sense of beauty and value is generally driven by the marketplace. At times during its history, and even within the same year among its programs, presentations and framing have gravitated toward one or another axis. But by and large, the Festival's form, contexts, purposes, and place have remained the same.

THE FESTIVAL AS A FESTIVAL

In general, festivals provide a time out of time. They separate off the heightened and the accentuated from the mundane, the usual, daily routine. Festivals are liminal moments, temporary pauses or transitions in the flow of events and activities, in which new relationships can be made, old ones reinforced or inverted. Festivals may indeed reinvest the social order with legitimacy – connecting that order to higher powers, cosmic purposes, and sacred history. But festivals may also provide a



The Festival offers interesting, even arresting juxtapositions of cultural life. Here a 1982 demonstration of cowherding skills by Oklahoman Sherri Lyn Close is set against the backdrop of the Capitol.
Photo by Dane Penland, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

release valve, so to speak, giving members of society a chance to revolt against the usual order, counter the structure of relationships with either inverted ones or none at all. Festivals typically conjoin and separate people, magnify and compress space and time.

In the Washingtonian scheme of things, the Festival of American Folklife does operate like a festival. It creates its own space on the Mall, a sometimes jarring presence in the midst of official, neat space. It creates a kind of face-to-face type of community in the shadows of inanimate official buildings and the institutions of state. The Festival is messy, it leaks at porous boundaries of participation, time, and event. The Festival does compress time and space. It creates an experience and event which are intense, but short-lived, in which representations are magnified, pushed together, and then, just as quickly, dispersed. And it brings people together – tradition bearers, the public, scholars, officials, administrators, builders, designers, volunteers, etc., who would not normally interact. As Margaret Mead wrote (*Redbook*, July 1975), the Festival is “a people-to-people celebration in which all of us are participants – now as organizers, now as celebrators, now as audience, as hosts and as guests, as friends and neighbors or as strangers finding that we can speak the same language of mutual enjoyment.”

There is something reassuring in the fact that official Washington can make room for the humanity it seeks to represent. Washington loves a good show, and though the town feeds on politics and breeds bureaucracy, what it really likes is drama. The Festival provides some of this drama through



While Festival curators and technical people plan for certain types of performances and demonstrations, participants often creatively mold their own representations.

Here bahrupiyas from India, impersonating the monkey god Hanuman, grab a visitor's bicycle and improvise a routine at the 1985 Festival.

Photo by Mary MacInnis, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

everyone's and no one's at the same time, enables people to cross boundaries they usually wouldn't cross. And when people speak on the Mall at the Festival, they often feel they are doing so with a power they do not ordinarily possess. I think people listen in somewhat the same way.

This makes it hard, if not impossible, for anyone to impose a single, overriding, monological voice upon the Festival. And if control over the Festival comes from us, the organizers, more often than not it is overtaken by the contingents of participants and the contingencies of their participation. We know this, which

is why we have to fight both within and outside our own bureaucracies so hard, lest the desire for control be so burdensome as to squeeze out the spirit of the people.

To some extent, and for its limited time every year, the Festival subverts the normal order of cultural power along the Mall, and is thus also a Smithsonian festival of sorts. A Smithsonian "infomercial" in *Business Week* (April 4, 1994) refers to the Festival as the time when "the normally stately institution [the Smithsonian] lets its hair down." A recently published murder mystery by Richard Conroy begins: "This is a tale of an imaginary time [the 1976 Festival] when the folklorists tried to take over the Smithsonian Institution and how they almost succeeded. And how the traditionalists of the museum were driven to the foul crime of murder to prevent this great catastrophe." Museums in their most formal ways can project a sense of the inside (spatially and culturally), the serious (almost dour), propertied (laden with valuable objects), and rule bound (no talking, no touching, restricted access). The Festival by contrast not only occurs

cultural juxtapositions – a horse race course from the Capitol to the Washington Monument, a Tennessee moonshine still in sight of the Justice Department, a Hawaiian lei draped over the statue of "the *haole* guy" (Joseph Henry, the Smithsonian's first secretary), a New Mexican adobe village on the national green, a buffalo birth on the Mall, a Junkanoo rush, carnival and Mardi Gras parades blaring at cool stone buildings.

Most festive of all is what happens amongst people who gather to talk, listen, sing, dance, craft, cook, eat, and watch. Unlike the rules and regulations and authoritative voices that come from the buildings, Festival voices are more intimate, a bit more human and inspirited. The lack of direct personal contact so expected in official Washington is contrasted with the folksiness, perceived or real, at the Festival. We can hear from and talk with people whom we might not ordinarily meet. Indeed, the social space of the Mall and Festival is endowed with a certain power; they are, as Anacostia Museum director Steve Newsome says, "sanctified." This power, coupled with the sense that the Mall is

The Festival has sometimes loudly announced concepts for public cultural discourse. Large banners and presentations of African-based expressive traditions by scores of groups from Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States helped convey an idea of the African Diaspora in the 1970s.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

physically outside, but also represents the *outside*, associated with the common people, the playful, and the open ended. Given the great popularity of the Festival, attendance by dignitaries, attention by the press, and use of the Mall, the normal power relationship shifts – the outsiders are in – if only for the duration of the Festival.



THE FESTIVAL AS A GENRE OF CULTURAL DISPLAY

Political and poetic dimensions are linked in cultural displays like the Festival. While the Festival may, in some literal way, recall 19th-century forms of cultural exhibitionism and voyeurism, it has benefited from decades of cultural research and discussions about representation to become quite different than that. Shifts in authoritative voice, collaboration in self-representation, treatment of contemporary contexts, as well as the forms of discourse have significantly changed thanks in large part to the efforts of people like Ralph Rinzler, Bess Lomax Hawes, Bernice Reagon, and a generation of folklorists who have worked at the intersection of scholarship, cultural community advocacy, and public education. Large-scale cultural displays are situated in a public world in which various parties have a stake. Politicians, advocacy groups, rebels, and scholars may use these forms to forward their own agendas, and have become very sophisticated in doing so.

As a representational genre, living cultural exhibitions like the Festival share features with the zoo, the local fair, a town meeting, object-based museum exhibit, ethnographic monograph, talk show, and documentary film. The Festival is a low-resolution medium, as Bob Byington, the Festival's former deputy director, always said. The Festival differs from a book, film, exhibit, and concert in that it lacks linearity. While the Festival has highlighted special events, a daily schedule, and structured

forms of presentation, many things happen simultaneously. Not everyone experiences the same thing. And levels of mediation in communication vary considerably. Simply, the Festival offers the ability, indeed the desirability for people – visitors, staff, participants – to chart their own experiential routes through it. The density of the crowd, the symbolic weight of the location, the significance of the time (around the Fourth of July) help make this experience important. Most distinctively, the Festival offers the immediacy and sentient presence of people possessed of knowledge, skill, and wisdom, who can and do speak for themselves. At the Festival, many different people speak in a variety of voices and styles. For the most part, the authority to speak and the content of that speech are diffuse.

One anthropologist who helped present a Maroon program on the Mall a few years ago turned to me at one session where Maroon leaders from Jamaica, Suriname, French Guiana, Colombia, Texas, and Ecuador were meeting with each other for the first time in the almost 500-year history of *marronage* – and asked rhetorically, “What have they got to say to each other?” Well, it turned out, a lot. People who don’t usually have the opportunity can use these occasions to talk to a public directly and say their piece. They can cooperate with as well as challenge the ethnographers who claim to and so often do represent them. They can engage their exhibitors in dialogue and confrontation. They can speak with, conspire, and learn much from each

other, and with all of this gain skill and standing in representing their own concerns in a complex world. At the same time, I think we as practitioners of our own art gain experience and appreciation in both understanding and conveying representational processes.

As a genre, cultural displays like the Festival can disrupt the complacent, linear flow of history. The representational act or event can highlight salient issues and challenge public notions of the given state of social life. Almost like a collage, the Festival is a display of recontextualized cultural imagery. In offering bits, pieces, and slices of life, the Festival allows visitors a way into someone else's life as they are willing to publicly represent it.

Such displays are usually risky. The actions of participants – those conspiring in their own representation – is somewhat unpredictable. Who knows what the musician from Jerusalem or the Hawaiian nationalist will say when they have the microphone and pulpit in front of a few hundred thousand people on the Mall? Yet with risk comes the playful ambiguity of the genre, the way in which cultural styles are brought to the organization and experience of the event itself. The genre shares the interstitial social character one now finds increasingly in borderland regions and other cultural crossroads. New forms and syntheses of cultural expression may emerge at and be invented through the event itself.

Politically, cultural displays can be used to say new things, foster new understandings, promote old ones, valorize and legitimate stances by governments, peoples, or communities. The very presence of largely working-class folks and people from a variety of backgrounds who are not usually represented on a national or international stage is significant. The institutional investment in their presence and voice helps legitimate their right to speak, and sometimes what they have to say, and how they say it. Part of this investment, as our senior folklorist Peter Seitel has suggested, consists of scholar-ethnographers providing a model of listening and respect for public audiences. If scholars and cura-

Richard Kurin is Director of the Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies and a Professorial Lecturer at The Johns Hopkins University Nitze School for Advanced International Studies. He is a cultural anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago who has done most of his research and writing on issues of cultural policy and the folk culture of Pakistan and India. He first worked for the Festival of American Folklife in 1976.

tors can find ways of showing the general population how to listen to and respect the lives and life-ways of the people to whom they owe their livelihood, no matter who they may be, we might all be better off. I think the Festival reflects well on the power of educational and cultural institutions in a democratic society. Others may be more skeptical. Some may doubt whether there is anything to learn from such people. Some entertainers, politicians, and experts who themselves seek the limelight of display (through performances, appearances, and distinguished lectures) worry about the ethics of the display of "lesser others" who, they fear, may not have the capacity, talent, or good sense to represent themselves well.

Public institutions should be attuned to the form of power increasingly shaping the 21st-century social order – the ability to produce (and control) meaning and disseminate it (some would say inflict it) upon others. The ways of producing meaning, particularly about things cultural, are widely distributed among marketers, media moguls, politicians, journalists, and many others. Yet at a time when commodified culture is emerging as the world's foremost economic industry, and issues of cultural identity have become part of big-time politics, scholars and curators in the cultural studies fields have both an opportunity and responsibility to participate in the public understanding of *culture*. We must pick forums and media that enable our ideas and approaches, multiple as they may be, to enter public discourse, dialogue, and debate. As scholars and scientists, we fumbled the ball on the public understanding of *race*. Let's not do the same for *culture*.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Festival Works

by Diana Parker

Festival staff people I know are a very dedicated and hard-working group. They give of their time, intelligence, and energy because they believe they are engaged in good work. Therefore, it is especially nice when others agree. The Festival of American Folklife has been designated the Top Event of the United States in 1994 by the American Bus Association. Previous top events, determined by the Association's survey of tourism and visitors' bureaus around the country, have included the Olympics, the Statue of Liberty Centennial, and the World's Fair.

The Festival continues to have an impact beyond the Mall and its two-week duration. The 1992 Festival program on New Mexico was remounted this past October in Las Cruces by New Mexico State University and a host of collaborators. Co-directors Dr. Andrew Wiget and Dr. Jose Griego made creative use of the Festival's educational potential. They developed a three-day curriculum unit for use in schools prior to the Festival. Trained docents met each class at the Festival and guided them around the site. More than 3,500 students took advantage of this excellent learning experience.

"Workers at the White House," an exhibit based on the 1992 Festival, opened at the Gerald Ford Library in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in January. Curated by Marjorie Hunt, who also curated the Festival program, the photo/text, artifact, and video exhibit will travel to the Truman, Eisenhower, Carter, and Reagan Presidential Libraries under the auspices of the National Archives and the White House Historical Association.

We sometimes say "the Festival never ends." Years, even a decade, after a program appears at the Festival, its educational products may reach a public audience. *Korean Onggi Pottery*, a documentary film in the Smithsonian Folklife Studies series based on research for a 1982 Festival program, won a Cine Golden Eagle award this year. A documentary film based on the 1984 program, *The Grand Generation* made its debut at

the Smithsonian this winter. Watch for it on your local public and cable television stations. Festival programs also continue to engender Smithsonian/Folkways recordings – most recently on U.S./Mexico Borderlands, The Bahamas, Thailand, and Indonesia.

Research scholars, fellows, and educators continue to use archival holdings created by the Festival. We recently completed a computerized inventory of our audio recordings to send to public folklore offices, state arts councils, and other interested organizations around the country.

The Festival also drew the attention of a wide range of writers and scholars. It was the subject of sessions at meetings of the American Folklore Society and the American Anthropological Association. Two new books by Smithsonian scholars reference the Festival: Dr. Thomas Vennum's definitive *Lacrosse: Little Brother of War* and Dr. Adrienne Kaeppler's fine *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances*. In a rather different vein, the Festival has also been subjected to levels of literary engagement ranging from satire to personal fantasy to murder mystery.

Clearly, the proudest moment for the Festival in the last year was when its founder and longtime director, Assistant Secretary Emeritus Ralph Rinzler, was awarded the Smithsonian Secretary's Gold Medal. Ralph was presented the award for his prescience in creating a museum program nearly 30 years ago that blazed a trail in the contemporary philosophy of museums and other public cultural and educational organizations.

Although the Festival has evolved over time, the basic model that Ralph developed in 1967 has endured. It still inspires Smithsonian staff, cultural exemplars, the public, and national leaders to make creative use of the myriad possibilities that arise when cultures come together for a special time with understanding and respect.

Diana Parker is the Director of the Festival of American Folklife. She has worked on the Festival in a variety of capacities since 1975.

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN



The Recovery of Cultural Resources for Development

by Kevin "Benito" Healy

Can the culture of native peoples be a spring-board for development, or does it inevitably block progressive change, creating permanent backwaters in society? For much of the 20th century, official development doctrine viewed indigenous culture as a barrier to improvement. As the Mexican sociologist Rudolfo Stavenhagen observed, development policies in Latin America after World War II assumed it was necessary to "integrate" and "assimilate" indigenous peoples into the cultural mainstream of a modern industrializing society (Stavenhagen 1992). Planning documents from this era frequently describe indigenous beliefs and customs as "backward" and "worn-out traditions" obstructing the path to modernization and economic progress.

Perhaps it is not surprising that 40 years of these policies have failed to produce most of their desired results. Although millions of indigenous people did become acculturated, many communities have not only resisted the pressures to give up their culture but have achieved a stronger cultural and political presence in the world. As for realization of the policies' economic development goals, most of Latin America's 45 million Native Americans and 400 ethnic groups still live in conditions of extreme poverty and social exploitation. They tend to have the worst schools, health clinics, housing, and agricultural lands in their respective countries. Native peoples frequently lack basic services of potable water and electricity and have the lowest life expectancy. They contribute labor for large-scale commercial farming and for the construction of schools and urban skyscrapers, yet they often get the lowest-paying jobs and the lowest prices for

their farm products.

In the past decade, the environmental crisis in the Amazonian rainforest has focused international attention on the issues of cultural pluralism and economic justice and the proper management of natural resources. Similarly, media fanfare over the Columbus Quincentenary created a tremendous reservoir of sympathy for native peoples and respect for their many contributions to the modern world. These events helped to discredit "assimilationist" policies and bring indigenous development issues to the boardroom tables of international and national institutions in Latin America.

But it had taken indigenous peoples years of dedicated organization building to be in a position to seize this historic opportunity. An emerging indigenous intelligentsia, activism by environmentalists and other allies, and increased international financial support for meetings of native peoples had helped form stronger indigenous coalitions to coordinate efforts toward common goals.

This organizational push and the rejuvenated interest in native peoples, even by powerful financial institutions like the World Bank, did not create ready-made solutions. Yet experiences in participatory development, alternative trade markets, and local education suggest sound ways to organize development projects and to build strategies for social change. Among the latter is an approach I would call "ethnodevelopment," which strategically places culture at the center of rural development planning. Local development projects that take this approach demonstrate how indigenous culture – technologies, knowledge, organizational skills, and talents of Indian groups – can be engaged for effective and sustainable development. Strategies for self-reliance like this create local political empowerment and socioeconomic revitalization and may even bring about reform of state policy.

The locally based, culture-centered approach of ethnodevelopment has actually benefited from increased communications, innovative trade rela-

Culture & Development in Latin America & the Caribbean has been co-sponsored by the Inter-American Foundation, in celebration of its 25th anniversary of promoting grassroots development.



tions, and political alliances that transcend national boundaries and regions. These changes in the global context, helped along by the Quincentenary and environmental outcry, have created special niches in international markets for the products of local development projects. They have also led to support by influential political and financial institutions for indigenous peoples' defense of the rainforest. Growing international understanding of the artistic merit of native textiles has opened doors to markets and museums. Moving local culture to the center of development planning is part of these new strategies, alliances, and cultural perspectives.

Ethnodevelopment programs in the hemisphere frequently are based on the recovery of underutilized cultural resources. The internal colonialism of most Latin American societies devalued indigenous cultural resources and excluded them from public development plans. Ethnodevelopment, to the contrary, utilizes and revalorizes indigenous knowledge about crops, plants, the environment, appropriate technology, art, social organization, and language. Despite unrelenting discrimination, such knowledge has been kept alive over many generations and centuries by native communities with strong and resilient cultural identities.

Ethnodevelopment in Latin America is pursued by alternative institutions, which are usually independent from top-down, politically driven government agencies. These include organizations like producer associations, certain nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), innovative educational and research institutions, and indigenous political federations. These alternative institutions have devel-

Quinoa, known as the *grano de oro de los Andes* (golden grain of the Andes), has been grown for thousands of years in the Andes and has recently been discovered by health food stores for its superior nutritional value. Andean farmers such as this Peruvian have spearheaded a quinoa revival through their producer organizations. Photo by Miguel Sayago

oped ways to restructure market relations, refocus educational programs, and increase indigenous self-management capacities and opportunities. They use cultural recovery and identity revalidation for socioeconomic development.

The ethnodevelopment approach has its precursors. Chief among these are the "participatory" or "people-centered" approaches which emerged in the 1970s via NGOs and grassroots organizations. They gained a place in the 1980s both in social science literature and in important international organizations (Uphoff and Esman 1984). The Inter-American Foundation, which is celebrating its 25th anniversary, was in the forefront of U.S. entities working in Latin America with this approach.

The participatory approach was a response to the Third World development patterns which, "top down," were controlled by social elites and, "trickle down," widened the gulf between haves and have-nots (Barraclough 1991). Standard Western development approaches were also seen to rapidly diminish the world's non-renewable natural resources and to force huge populations into over-crowded urban shantytowns.

Earlier in this century, some native groups themselves showed the way by using their cultural val-



Native peoples of Ecuador and Bolivia helped organize experimental bilingual schools in their communities that later contributed to national educational reforms. Bilingual education involves not only the use of native languages but active community involvement and a curriculum which highlights the communities' cultural values. Photo by Kevin "Benito" Healy



Andean women recover their sense of dignity through popular education programs that analyze discrimination and explore alternatives. This illustrated, didactic poster from Bolivia reflects experiences shared by native women in community workshops.

Illustration by Germán Treviño

ues and traditions as a foundation for development. The Otavaleños of Ecuador created a regional textile industry with sophisticated marketing strategies and used the earnings to reestablish a land base for their group (Solomon 1972). The Mexican Nahua transformed traditional ceramic designs into bark paintings and have sold them to tourists and other consumers to sustain economic development (Goode 1988). And in perhaps the hemisphere's most famous and commercially successful use of culture for development, the Kuna of the San Blas Islands transformed their body painting traditions into appliquéd work called *molas*.

Ethnodevelopment projects described in this article involve native peoples in the Western hemisphere and fall into three main project areas: agriculture, education, and native arts.

The recovery of native crops is important to the world's food supply as well as to the development of native peoples. The National Academy of Sciences' recent book, *The Lost Crops of the Incas*, describes many valuable Andean native plants available for use in development programs, among them *quinoa*. A highly nutritious cereal grain now sold in health food stores in the United States, *quinoa* has been grown by native peoples high in the Andes for thousands of years. Agricultural development and aid policies emphasized wheat at the expense of *quinoa*, contributing to the latter's decline from the 1950s through the 1970s. However, the rising health consciousness primarily among affluent Western consumers has created a demand for *quinoa* and an opportunity for Aymara and Quechua organizations to manage all stages of its production, from organic cultivating and processing to transporting and exporting. Prehispanic organizations called *ayllus* organize the production of *quinoa* with tractors on communally owned pampas in otherwise desolate corners of the Andes at 12,000 ft. above sea level.

This year's Folklife Festival includes two examples of indigenous organizations that export organic products and build upon native communal traditions. The federations of El Ceibo in Bolivia and ISMAM in Mexico produce organic coffee and cacao with state-of-the-art agrobiological practices, directly exporting to U.S. and Western European health food stores. Another federation that sidesteps commercial middlemen to reach markets abroad is the Brazilian sisal-producing APAEB.

The cultural recovery of native tree species in the

Andean countries has become a key resource for reforestation programs to improve soils and vegetation. Blinded by assimilationist policies and dependency on Western resources, planners overlooked the tree species adapted to the landscape over millennia. The Australian eucalyptus tree, for example, enjoyed a long heyday in Latin America modernization programs because of its rapid growth, aesthetic appeal, and practical uses. But its negative impact on soil conservation and ground water supplies available for nearby plants has shaken the faith of even its most die-hard advocates. This change in attitude has led to greater appreciation for native communities as permanent protectors of these resources. Indigenous organizations began mobilizing support, establishing decentralized nurseries, cooperating in research on indigenous knowledge, and even identifying the important place of native trees in indigenous ceremonies and rituals.

Cultural recovery also contributes to school reform in indigenous communities. A monolingual (Spanish) educational policy that exclusively promotes Western values often fails to meet even its own objectives. Instead of turning out productive citizens with the skills and "modern values" needed for a rapidly changing economy, it has left community members with low self-esteem and poor reading and writing skills. The search for solutions to

this crisis led NGOs, grassroots organizations, and local community groups to undertake small-scale bilingual education programs.

Two pilot projects became models for national educational reform plans in their respective countries. In the Andean mountains of Ecuador, a church organization in collaboration with native leaders and educators fended off opposition from the public authorities to organize bilingual (Quechua-Spanish) elementary schools taught by indigenous members of the same community who had received intensive training in their new profession. In the dry, hot, Bolivian Chaco, native Guaranis and an educational NGO established a bilingual school district with teachers-college graduates they themselves retrained in an educational approach which respected and utilized native cultural values. Indigenous federations can provide political muscle to sustain such experiments. For example, in the Ecuadorian city of Latacunga, a protest march by 5,000 federation members mobilized support for the legal recognition of the bilingual school district.

The Andean experience also showed that bilingual education requires overhauling the school curriculum to reflect the culture, history, and physical environment of the participating native communities. Under conventional rural schooling,

Cultural Energy & Grassroots Development

by Charles D. Kleymeyer

"Culture is like a tree," says Mariano López, a Tzotzil Indian leader from the municipality of Chamula in Chiapas, Mexico. "If the green branches – a people's language, legends, and customs – are carelessly lopped off, then the roots that bind people to their place on the earth and to each other also begin to wither. The wind and rain and the elements carry the topsoil away; the land becomes a desert." Afro-Ecuadorian folklorist Juan García echoes this urgency and, in so doing, offers a solution. "Cultural rescue," he says, "is impossible without

development at the community level. And the converse is also true."

Both of these testimonies imply that cultural expression, in all its richness and variety, is not just a by-product of how a society organizes its social and productive relationships; it is a vital instrument for generating the insights and energy needed to transform those relationships.

Cultural energy is a prime motivator of social action among individuals, groups, communities, and even nations. It is generated by common people through everyday creative expression – in work and in "entertainment," which often

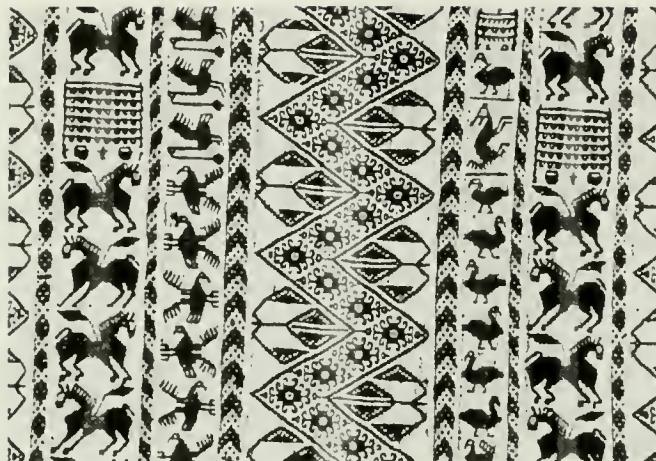
overlap. It is also galvanized by the concerted efforts of cultural activists who consciously use it as a development tool. They realize that the presence or absence of cultural energy can make the difference in whether a project is launched, sustained, and expanded. Cultural energy is a powerful force in the creation and reinforcement of group solidarity, organizational efficacy, participation, and volunteer spirit – all of which are basic ingredients of successful grassroots development initiatives.

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indigenous school children were expected to absorb their lessons from texts which shunned or trivialized their culture and presented strange images and concepts of urban, middle-class lifestyles. For revamping these curricula, the United Nations has promoted the term "intercultural" education, a broadening of the narrow Eurocentric focus to incorporate indigenously based perspectives.

The Centro de Capacitación Integral de la Mujer Campesina (CIMCA), a participant in this year's Folklife Festival, has developed popular education programs for consciousness raising and leadership development among poor native women in a remote region of the Andes. Popular education of this sort in Latin America has its roots in the ideas and methods of Brazilian educator Paolo Freire. His widely read book, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, describes a philosophy for non-formal education that treats issues of social discrimination and power. Popular education opposes the rigid, authoritarian, rote-memory style of formal schooling, which reinforces discrimination toward low-income people. It revitalizes indigenous cultural values and social movements and gives native peoples a different place in the school history texts. One can see the effects of this approach in the enormous volume of popular literature that contributes to the revitalization of Native American cultures – booklets, pamphlets, educational comic books, didactic posters, and simple training manuals. Popular education also develops skills to help indigenous organizations manage the *mini-medios*, or alternative social communications. Producing educational bulletins and newsletters has enabled indigenous peoples to advocate their development agendas more effectively.

An adjunct to popular education, community radio has opposed the deculturation that came with commercial broadcasting and wide use of the transistor radio. Rural educational radio stations were often begun by Catholic organizations to prosely-



In an era of multiculturalism, native textile designs similar to this pattern from the Tarabuco ethnic group are popular among students and others as a form of wearable art. Indigenous associations of producers have developed favorable markets with Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs) in the United States and Western Europe. Photo by Sean Sprague

tize widely dispersed native populations. The ethics promulgated by the Second Vatican Council changed the church's radio goals from "civilizing" Indians to assisting indigenous struggles for social justice and development. Thus radio stations like Radio Latacunga in Ecuador became critical sources of information, voices for cultural values, and forums of

community problems for thousands of indigenous communities in the hemisphere. Native peoples savored the sounds of their once-suppressed voices, languages, stories, music, and heroes, as well as the personal greetings and development information spread through a new and powerful medium. They "took the microphone in their hands" to achieve previously unimaginable roles as regional broadcasters and local reporters of community news and grassroots struggles.

Another impressive example of ethnodevelopment in the hemisphere has been the recovery of hand-woven textile traditions. Because native costumes were popular among tourists, they became an important source of cash for communities struggling to survive in the expanding market economies of the Andes and Central America. To attain greater income, rural development strategies have tried to improve the quality of workmanship and increase the producers' share of profit by organizing associations and cooperatives. These organizations can be fragile and fail to survive the competition, yet many groups are forging ahead to bring economic progress to their communities.

Promoting native art for economic development often requires building a community business from the bottom up, in villages and communities with a legacy of poor educational opportunity. Festival participants such as the *Jalq'a* and *Tarabuqueños* of Bolivia, the *Maya* of Guatemala, the *Kuna* of Panama, the *Taquileños* of Peru, the artisans of Haiti, and the *Mapuche* of Chile know the many



challenges of obtaining raw materials at reasonable prices, keeping accurate records, devising investment and marketing strategies, organizing skills-training programs, and ensuring the accountability of leaders and managers.

A recent strategy in ethnodevelopment of hand-woven textiles uses art museums and galleries to educate the public about living traditions and to promote sales by native art producer organizations. The former institutions reflect a growing awareness in North and South America that finely woven native textiles are valuable decorative arts. A prime example of this was the 1992 Native American art exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., which included numerous articles of traditional dress. In Latin America, the ironies of this change in perception are not lost on the indigenous weavers, whose finely woven clothing still elicits ridicule on the streets of Latin American cities.

The visual codes of textile art are a window into the history, the world view, and the spiritual dimensions of a society and its relationship with the physical environment. Revitalization of this art form brings a deeper appreciation among native groups as well as outside observers for communal ritual practice, festival celebrations, traditional forms of authority, and democratic decision making. Organizations such as ASUR of Bolivia, La Casa de la Mujer Mapuche of Chile, Taquile Island of Peru, and CDRO of Guatemala in this year's Festival show fruits of this broader cultural recovery. Ethnodevelopment also can involve struggles to

The convergence of the environmental movement with the Columbus Quincentenary empowered indigenous movements seeking "territorial rights" in the Amazon basin and other parts of the hemisphere. This 34-day Bolivian "March for Territory and Dignity" led to presidential decrees granting a million and a half hectares to native peoples of the lowlands. Photo by Presencia

regain control over indigenous lands. During the 1980s and early 1990s, the call for "territorial rights" by forest-dwelling peoples from the Amazon region became one of the loudest rallying cries in the Americas. As global environmental consciousness grew, the cause of territorial rights reached the front pages of newspapers and the lips of national political figures. Deforestation of indigenous homelands by timber and oil companies, investors, ranchers, peasant colonists, and miners left Indians little choice but to oppose the prevailing development policies and seek allies in the environmental movement. They were able to draw legitimacy and support, for example, from the revised Convention 169 of the UN's International Labor Organization, which promotes the constitutional rights of tribal and native peoples to their own development and unique cultural identities.

What do Amazonian Indians want? The most important goal is national legal recognition of their *collective rights* to territorial units large enough for traditional rainforest lifestyles, environmental protection, and small-scale sustainable development. These rights include administration of the territory by traditional native institutions. Indigenous terri-

torial resource management is bound up with local cultural identities, for as anthropologists have shown, group self-identification in the Amazonian rainforest is based on both physical and symbolic relationships with a particular geographical area (Davis and Wali 1993). Earlier conservation programs in the Amazon – national parks, protected areas, and biosphere reserves – typically ignored these basic cultural rights and identities of the native inhabitants.

Influenced by the nonviolent political mobilization of indigenous organizations in the 1980s and early 1990s, national governments recognized the Indians' territorial rights to over 17 million hectares in Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador. New rights on paper are an impressive political triumph, but official recognition is part of a long-term struggle to keep natural resources from predatory economic agents and to manage sustainable development.

Fortunately, Amazonian organizations have two established models of territorial control in the Shuar of Amazonian Ecuador and the Kuna of Panama. Both achieved their territorial rights and autonomy many decades ago through political activism. Now their indigenous professionals go on technical missions to improve natural resource management in the new Amazonian territories, and their organizations form cooperative agreements with outside institutions and individual botanists, biologists, and other scientists to help protect the area's biodiversity and gain development assistance.

Native groups at an early stage of their quest for territorial rights sometimes use the techniques of community mapping. Historically, maps have been used by the politically powerful sectors of society to impose their landholding desires on native peoples. At best, indigenous peoples hired outside professionals to make maps for their legal use. But recent participatory mapmaking methods have partially

Kevin "Benito" Healy is a representative for the Andean region at the Inter-American Foundation. He has a Ph.D. in development sociology from Cornell University and frequently speaks and writes on Andean grassroots development issues. He has long-standing relationships with the Festival groups from Bolivia and Peru beginning with his work on Taquile Island as a Peace Corps volunteer in the late 1960s.

Charles D. Kleymeyer is a representative for the Andean region at the Inter-American Foundation. He has a Ph.D. in development studies from the University of Wisconsin.

turned the tables, enabling indigenous and peasant communities to gain social and political advantage from their intimate knowledge of the environment. Settlements, houses, temporary structures, soils, trees, water resources, and forest types recorded on the maps convey social and natural landscapes more accurately than official maps and undermine efforts to present territories as "uninhabited lands." As part of the broader social process of empowering rural peoples in Latin America, community map-making can be widely used to produce and analyze local knowledge. At this year's Festival, the Emberá demonstrate how they used community mapping strategies to defend their environment and territory in the Darién zone of Panama.

As a group, the ethnodevelopment projects represented at this year's Festival combine the recovery of cultural and organizational resources with the use of technologies developed relatively recently, like community-based surveying and radio broadcasting. All of these strategies serve the ultimate goal of empowering the original inhabitants of our hemisphere as active participants in their own development.

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The Kuna & the Mola Cooperative

Most Kuna Indians live on the San Blas Islands, in Panama City, or in Colon, Panama. Although the Kuna have had extensive contact with Europeans and other outsiders for over 400 years, they have maintained their independence. In 1926 the Kuna rebelled against local Panamanian authorities, and an autonomous territory, now called Kuna Yala, was established.

Toward the end of the 19th century, Kuna women began to experiment with a new process that led to *mola* making. At first they painted designs originally used for body decorations onto cotton, wrap-around skirts. Then they began to cut and stitch geometric patterns in blue and red fabric onto the bottom of chemise-like blouses worn over the painted skirts. As Kuna women developed more ways to cut and sew designs, they filled more of the space on the blouses. Red, yellow, and blue – the colors they preferred for body painting – are still popular, and the geometric patterns they call *mugan* or “grandmother designs” are made with pride to this day.

Inspiration for pictorial designs for the elaborate, multicolored *molas* comes from the shapes of plants and animals, from events in traditional Kuna culture, like village gatherings or girls’ ceremonies, and also from comic books, greeting cards, product labels, and activities outside of Kuna Yala such as boxing, the circus, the space program, and even objects from archaeological excavations.

Kuna women are articulate critics of their art, commenting on skill in cutting and sewing, complexity and visibility of designs, attention to completeness and patterning of repetition, and interest of the subject matter. They emphasize conservatism yet appreciate originality, producing a creative tension between tradition (rules, repetition, and balance) and innovation (pushing beyond the rules and using subtle variation and asymmetry).

Formed in 1964 with support from the Peace Corps, the Cooperativa Productores de Molas has 2,000 members in Kuna Yala and Panama City. Run by Kuna women, the co-op provides not only a setting for women to gather, talk, and work together but an international market for *mola* products. Kuna women make traditional *mola* blouses to wear, in addition to shirts, vests, patches, festive pillows and stuffed animals, tropical birds and fish for the commercial market using *mola* techniques. *Mola* making has become a significant component of the Kuna economy that specifically empowers women.

Today one challenge facing the Kuna is how to retain their autonomy and maintain their cultural identity in the face of outside economic forces. Another is the appropriation of their symbols, designs, and sewing methods by non-Kuna manufacturers of *mola*-like products. For example, the corporation My Name is Panama uses *mola* pieces of varying quality in its popular clothing line, buying cheaply and selling at great profit. Idalide Gonzales, an assistant in the co-op store, speaking of her dream for the co-op, says, “In five years, my hope is that My Name is Panama has nothing to do with our *molas* and that the co-op will be number one.”

— Mari Lyn Salvador



A mola artisan stitches a cut design of colored fabric to a piece of fabric of another color on Cartisuitup Island in Kuna Yala, the San Blas reserve of the Kuna Indians of Panama. This procedure will be repeated over and over again in a way unique to the Kuna. Although mola making as we know it today is a relatively recent art form, Kuna men and women consider molas integral to their culture and identity.

Photo by Mari Lyn Salvador

Mari Lyn Salvador is an anthropologist and associate professor at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

Taquile, Peru: Model Tourism



With the success of tourism in the island of Taquile, Taquileños increasingly have become professional motorboat builders. In the past, they were renowned for building wooden and reed sailboats for travel to the mainland to buy dry goods and between islands to trade crops for reeds, fish, and waterfowl. A group of Taquileño families pool resources to commission and run a motorboat.

Photo by Elayne Zorn

Elayne Zorn has recently completed her Ph.D. in anthropology at Cornell University. She has been working with Taquile since 1975.

More than 13,000 feet above sea level on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca, at the heart of the Americas, lies the small island of Taquile. Set amid the sparkling blues of the lake and facing the snow-capped Andes, this beautifully terraced island is home to 1,200 Quechua-speaking peasants, whose distinctive red, black, and white dress represents some of the finest weavings made and worn today in Peru. Taquileños take pride in preserving the ways of their Inka ancestors. Islanders also take pride in controlling a complex of tourist enterprises, although the island still lacks such basic services as electricity and running water.

Tourism is new in Taquile. Twenty years ago Taquileños only infrequently traveled by sailboat to the mainland 17 miles away, yet recently islanders traveled to Europe and the United States. Twenty years ago visitors were rare and even the local priest arrived only once a year, but today up to 1,000 tourists visit monthly. Twenty years ago Taquileños exercised no power outside their island; today they are known internationally for their community control and equitable distribution of benefits from their small-scale tourist enterprises.

Quechua-speaking settlers were first sent to Taquile by the Inkas. Following the Spanish invasion of what is now Peru, Spanish landowners took possession of Taquile, leaving islanders to survive as peons on their increasingly eroding lands. In the 1930s, the national government of Peru used Taquile as a political prison. One prisoner befriended by the Taquileños, Sánchez Cerro, became Peru's president and eventually helped Taquileños in their struggle to regain their lands. Starting in the 1940s, through purchase, Taquile became the first community on the Peruvian side of the lake to obtain title to its land. In the 1960s Taquileños began to produce their exquisite textiles on a commercial basis. When the first backpacking tourists arrived in the mid-1970s, Taquileños mobilized to create tourist services. In the process islanders developed new crafts and learned new skills, such as how to build and operate motorboats. Taquileños also have gained assistance from individuals of several nations and organizations, including the Inter-American Foundation.

Tourism has brought economic benefits to these subsistence farmers, whose nation suffers from civil war and economic crises. Taquile has been transformed from one of the poorest communities on the lake to one of the better off. Tourism also has brought problems, however, as islanders must continue to resist efforts by outsiders to gain control of Taquileño enterprises. Moreover, Taquileño women, who like other Andean women play essential and respected roles in their society, appear to be losing some social standing vis-à-vis men as a result of men's increased access to money and other economic development.

Nonetheless, Taquileños' control of their land and of all tourist enterprises makes them a model for other communities who also seek to combine innovations and appropriations of technology with traditional forms of power sharing and decision making.

— Elayne Zorn

The Comité Artisanal Haitien: Local Crafts & International Marketing

Contemporary crafts production in Haiti is rooted in the society that emerged after a successful struggle against slavery and colonialism. When Haiti became independent in 1804, more than half its population was African born. Shunning the plantations that had enslaved them to produce crops exclusively for export, these Africans joined other people of color to create a different economy, one based on traditional village production for self-sufficiency and sale in local markets. They built a society of small-scale farmers, artisans, and market vendors. Almost 200 years later, this pattern remains. Even in the nation's cities – which today hold approximately 30 percent of the population – tinkers, artisans, craftspersons, and market vendors dominate the production and sale of items for the local market.

In this milieu, a group of religious and lay workers created the Comité Artisanal Haitien (CAH) in 1973 to help Haiti's grassroots artisans find external markets for articles long produced for domestic use. By that time, Haiti had become renowned worldwide for its vibrant "primitive paintings" and decorative art and for its profusion of utilitarian crafts, such as baskets, mats, and hats made from straw, reeds, banana bark, and other vegetable fibers. Seeing the revenue from these items go much more to export merchants than to the producers, the CAH established itself as a nonprofit organization pledged to return to producers all revenue from sales except that required to cover basic overhead costs.

Grassroots artisans throughout the country, alerted to the CAH's existence by church and nongovernmental organizations, were quick to affiliate with it. They began paying regular visits to the CAH's combination retail/wholesale storefront in Port-au-Prince, flooding it with samples of the furniture, household decorations, and utensils that had been produced by generations of artisans in and for their communities.

The CAH found ready markets for these items, mostly through an emerging network of Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs) such as Oxford Famine Relief (OXFAM), the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), and the Church of the Brethren (SERRV). Having found an international market, the CAH had to educate that market to accept and value the item-to-item variations that are part of vital folk crafts traditions everywhere.

Challenge has been central in the 21-year experience of the CAH. Today, in a country racked by terror, the CAH and its thousands of grassroots artisan affiliates face depletion of resource materials, extortion and intimidation from corrupt, all-powerful authorities, and international trade sanctions. Still, the CAH helps craftspersons find the means for maintaining and building upon traditional skills, and for using them to make a living.

— Robert Maguire



Clair Sina Manuis, Haitian basketmaker, works with banana bark and white palm in a neighborhood of Port-au-Prince. As an associate of the Comité Artisanal Haitien, she can market her baskets at the retail storefront in Port-au-Prince or internationally through Alternative Trade Organizations. In spite of the difficulties involved in getting raw materials, her basketry skills are a valuable asset in difficult times. Photo by Mitchell Denburg, courtesy Inter-American Foundation

Robert Maguire is a geographer and representative for the Caribbean region at the Inter-American Foundation.

CDRO: Cooperation for Rural Development in Western Guatemala



Francisco Sic and Jaime Walter Garecia string an exact number of resist-dyed threads for a loom warp to create a desired textile pattern. CDRO's most profitable project, the Programa Artesanal annually ships textiles worth \$100,000 from Totonicapán to markets throughout the world.

Photo by Nestor Vega

Olivia Cadaval is curator of the Culture & Development program and Folklife Specialist at the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution.

Mayan Indians in Guatemala live in a country rich in cultural traditions and natural resources. But for over 400 years, wealth and power have been held by the descendants of the Spanish conquerors and their business partners. For Mayan citizens, who constitute 60 percent of the population, development can be understood as "the development of others at the expense of our lives and our resources," according to Virgilio Alvarado, a leader in the Asociación Cooperación para el Desarrollo Rural de Occidente (CDRO), a nongovernmental development organization. For Alvarado, "The present conditions of the Mayan people result from a process of colonization in which the ancient Mayan Quiché system of organization lost control over its forms of subsistence, its management of resources, and its power to influence change." Alvarado adds that part of the solution to discrimination, poverty, and dependency can be found "within the rural communities themselves."

For 12 years, the 20 Mayan Quiché communities of the region of Totonicapán associated with CDRO have successfully mobilized for economic and cultural self-determination. To accomplish this, they have strengthened, recovered, and reinvented a form of traditional social organization called the *consejo comunal*, which was developed over 200 years ago in Latin America to replace hereditary leadership. Alvarado explains that this organization is not new, but represents wisdom gained in centuries of experience. The *Popol Vuh* or "Council Book," the ancient sacred book of the Mayas, was consulted by the Quiché when they sat in council before the Spanish conquest. Today the 20 community councils CDRO has organized according to indigenous Mayan principles have become agents of local development.

The Mayan organizational concept *pop*, which can mean literally "a woven mat," describes CDRO's structure of interrelated and complementary roles, committees, councils, programs, and authority. Alvarado explains it with the story in the *Popol Vuh* in which Grandmother Ixmucané got a message to her grandsons, the twins Hunahpú and Ixbalanqué, by giving it to the louse, who was assisted by the toad, who was assisted by the snake, who was assisted by the hawk. The cooperative interaction between all these creatures was needed for success.

CDRO's success demonstrates a viable grassroots alternative to outside-directed programs for sustainable development. By preserving and building an organizational infrastructure that is guided by local cultural values and capable of taking advantage of available technology, CDRO has established effective projects in education and training for management, in textile production and marketing, and in nutrition and health services. It also runs agricultural credit programs.

Where will this lead them? The Mayan Quiché, the people of the ancient *Popol Vuh*, have developed an independent yet interdependent point of view. "Our future is not necessarily other peoples' present," Alvarado tells us.

— Olivia Cadaval

ASUR: An Experiment in Ethnodevelopment in Bolivia

The Inka Empire posted the ancestors of the Jalq'a and the Tarabuqueños, originally from several different ethnic groups, to the Andean region in present-day Bolivia to secure its southern border. The Spanish conquest, which reached the Andes in 1539, destroyed political structures, took land and liberty from indigenous populations, and altered Indian ethnic identities even further. Ethnohistorians now believe the Jalq'a and Tarabuqueños came together with lowland peoples at the end of the 19th century to form their distinctive identities. But although their group identities have varied over the centuries, a cultural constant in these Andean peoples' lives has been weaving.

In the 1960s, severe economic conditions coupled with the presence of a tourist market caused people in the region to sell some of their important sources of weaving production — herds of sheep and cherished heirlooms of fine textiles, which served as models and "dictionaries" of weaving design.

In 1982, ASUR (Antropólogos del Sur Andino), a foundation for anthropological research and ethnodevelopment, started a textile project to revitalize indigenous Jalq'a textile production and turn it into a source of income for women weavers and their families. ASUR began weaving workshops in Jalq'a communities and later in communities in the region of Tarabuco.

Communities began to weave again. Women remembered their grandmothers' designs. ASUR helped them with photographs from private weaving collections, with inventories of sketched motifs, with administrative training, and with much encouragement, while at the same time demanding high quality. These communities, on their own initiative, created new workshops with elected community boards where men and women participate.

ASUR established a store and a textile museum in Sucre where textiles produced in the workshops are displayed and sold, mainly to tourists. The project represents an important source of income in this part of the country. The best weavers earn between \$500 and \$700 annually, a cash income they never had before. ASUR is now extending the project to new communities and ethnic groups in Chuquisaca and other departments of south Andean Bolivia. It plans to diversify its workshops to include men weavers, who experiment with prehispanic techniques, embroidery, tailoring, and ceramics.

The Jalq'a and Tarabuqueño weavings have been "rescued" and are continuously being raised to higher levels of creativity. They are not only used for everyday and ceremonial occasions in the communities, but they are works of art. The recovery of textile and other craft traditions offers a solution to the extreme poverty of a great number of the indigenous peoples in this region and restores their dignity and cultural identity.

— Gabriel Martínez



Jalq'a weavers work on their looms outside the workshop building of the Jalq'a-Tarabuco Federation in the community of Marawa. In cooperation with the Federation, ASUR has established workshops that offer courses in bookkeeping, administration, and management. Two elected representatives, one from Jalq'a communities and the other from Tarabuco, make joint official visits to regular meetings held in each workshop.

Photo by Kevin "Benito" Healy

Gabriel Martínez is an anthropologist and General Director of ASUR.

Casa de la Mujer Mapuche: Weaving, Identity & Development in Chile



A member of the Comité of the community Llamaico, which is associated with the Casa de la Mujer Mapuche, Eugenia Antipán dyes sheep's wool in her yard. Eugenia shares her knowledge of preparing dyes from local roots, barks, and leaves with other weavers of La Casa. She is also one of the few members who knows the technique of resist dyeing used for the style of poncho worn by a cacique (leader).

Photo by Annette Martens

The Mapuche, who live in south and central Chile on the border with Argentina, are one of several indigenous groups in the region. The Mapuche maintained their independence from Spain through years of sustained warfare until 1883. Exchanges between the Mapuche and the Spaniards were generally adversarial, and the Mapuche have rejected much of Spanish culture. They did, however, adopt the use of sheep's wool, which has completely replaced that of llamas for textile manufacturing.

In contemporary Mapuche culture, textiles play an important role in female socialization in rural areas. From an early age, women learn the art and labor that are central to the identity of the Mapuche in general and of Mapuche women specifically. Each day, women weave the collective memory and the history of a people that has persevered in maintaining its cultural identity.

Since the turn of the 20th century, the Mapuche's experience has been similar to that of many other indigenous peoples. Their lands have been continuously encroached upon, and their forests have been destroyed by lumber companies. Their children, once the work force on locally owned family farms, now frequently migrate to urban areas. In the Mapuche's struggle for a sustainable way of life, La Casa de la Mujer Mapuche (Mapuche Women's House) has helped support and empower Mapuche women by revitalizing and marketing their textile production, which previously had been only for household use, and by conducting training programs. Members trained in marketing skills sell textiles from nine member committees at regional and national craft fairs. Through economic development and social transformation, many of the women hope to provide alternatives to their children's migration to the city.

La Casa began in 1987 as a collaboration between the Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo de la Mujer (a research center for the development of women) in Santiago and women from Mapuche communities around the town of Temuco. The Centro provided leadership training and assistance in production and marketing to young Mapuche women, who, in turn, conveyed the skills to others in their own communities. Now independent, the Casa continues to promote textile production and marketing, and pursues ways to open other cultural and economic opportunities for Mapuche women.

Rosa Rapimán, a member of the team first trained by the Centro and now director of La Casa, relates her experience: "In 1987 when I was 18 years old, I enrolled as a technical student in Mapuche crafts at the Casa. My training included working with the Mapuche communities and marketing textiles. I took great pride in being Mapuche and wanted to know my culture and my people better, to protect and to disseminate our culture. I also became concerned with the autonomy of La Casa and the need to form a team of Mapuche women to direct it. It is up to us to create our own development."

— Olivia Cadaval

The Cacha Federation: An Artisan Program in Ecuador

When the *comuneros*, the people of Cacha Parish of Chimborazo Province in Ecuador, say "This is the land of the Duchicelas and of the Daquilemas," they name ancestors who embody distinctive virtues. Duchicela was a scion of the prehispanic dynastic line that ruled this area. And Daquilema was a hero of the revolt, in 1871, during the Republican period, against a government, newly formed and dominated by *criollos* (American-born Spanish), which abolished indigenous political authority, Indian protectorates, and communal ownership of land. Indigenous roots and just rebellions are valued points of Cacha cultural identity.

Cacha insurrections continued into this century. In both the Colonial and Republican eras, Cachas were communities of free Indians and were not subject to the hacienda system. A leader of the Cacha Federation declared, "We are rebels because we refuse to submit, because we never belonged to haciendas."

Cachas are also esteemed for their weaving traditions. Within the federation, the community of Cacha Chuyuj is known for its wool; Cacha Obraje has a reputation for making high-quality ponchos and *chumbis* (sashes); and the women of Pucará Quinche are excellent weavers of *mama chumbis* (women's sashes). But in the 1950s textile production fell, probably because of a decline in the supply of sheep and sheep's wool due to the overgrazing of pasture land.

In the 1960s, the era of petroleum, Ecuador embarked on a rural development program. The government encouraged artisans to produce hats, textiles, and ceramics, a project also supported by the Catholic Church and the Italian government. A federation leader states, "We had been losing our cultural identity. We saw the need to find a way to increase our income because many of us were migrating." The plan succeeded. The number of women weaving and sewing grew, and production increased.

The Association of Cacha Artisans was formed in 1980 and incorporated in 1985. However, by the end of the 1980s, many members had left. The workshops and stores begun by the association languished from the neglect of government and church supporters and lack of local management skills.

At about the same time, in 1980, the Cacha Federation (Federación de Cabildos Indígenas Cacha) was formed to further community development through local control and management. It now numbers 19 communities and eight associations and cooperatives as members. The Artisan Association became a member of the Cacha Federation in 1992 and began to plan the renewal of textile production as a resource for local development. Weavers from Cacha come to the Festival to demonstrate their traditional skills and learn from other artisan organizations.

— Rosario Coronel



A Cacha needleworker does embroidery on a wooden frame in a workshop of the recently reorganized Artisan Program of the Cacha Province, Ecuador.
Photo by Xavier Moscoso

Rosario Coronel is a historian with the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in Quito, Ecuador.

Radio Latacunga: Quichua Indian Broadcasting in Ecuador



Community radio announcers record a program in Spanish and Quichua in a cabina popular, one of a network of recording booths located in remote communities. Radio Latacunga intersperses music, stories, riddles, and personal messages with regional, national, and international news, as well as health, agricultural, and other public service programs. The station enables dispersed highland communities to communicate through a mass medium in their own voices.

Photo by Miguel Sayago,
courtesy Inter-American
Foundation

Quichua-speaking Indians, the majority population in the predominantly rural, highland Ecuadorian province of Cotopaxi, are among the nation's most socially disadvantaged and economically depressed citizens. But over the last 30 years, indigenous movements, with the support of nongovernmental and religious organizations, have strengthened community structures that have helped the Indians resist repressive practices and institutions. In the mid-1960s, Salesian clerics introduced radio broadcasting technology for educational purposes. In 1982, the Catholic Diocese of Latacunga and indigenous leaders established a radio station that broadcasts in Quichua and Spanish.

Jorge Guamán, a Quichua Indian who has participated in the radio project from the beginning, remembers thinking, "How can an Indian imagine himself talking on the radio? My first surprise was to hear my own voice. Centuries have passed since an Indian has had the opportunity to express his own ideas with his own voice in his own language on such a scale. In the fairs and at the market we started to practice over the loud-speakers by sending personal messages and announcing upcoming meetings and assemblies. Training courses followed. At first we would memorize the news and the messages. Then we created socio-dramas and talked about problems in the city and in the community — problems women have and problems caused by migration. We talked about everyday needs. In the communities we collected people's stories, riddles, anecdotes, and fables."

Today Radio Latacunga broadcasts to 600 communities and works through a network of Quichua reporters. Its programs provide news of current events, information and advice to meet village needs, and a forum for the opinions and experiences of local citizens. It also has been a strategically important medium of communication during marches and demonstrations by the Quichua.

Guamán adds, "The radio has generated employment in education and communications, but most importantly it has created respect. Indians have begun to use this means of communication and education for maintaining their own culture in their own language. We have mastered this technology. These last 12 years have been a first stage. The indigenous community has worked responsibly and with pride for Radio Latacunga and demonstrated its capability in an area usually inaccessible to us. We can no longer be treated like the fifth wheel on a car."

"Our challenges today are the changes taking place in the world. We have to become better in communications not only at a regional level but in Latin America. The *patria grande* (the large homeland) is Latin America. We need to look ahead to the future and make alliances. We have to make deals that are to our advantage also. Our riches have been despoiled enough in the last 500 years.

"As radio reporters, we need to become actors in history and do something for society. Our listeners, 95 percent of the indigenous population, put a lot of trust in the radio. The fact that there are Indians working in radio is a big responsibility."

— Olivia Cadaval

Mapping the Darién in Panama

The Darién region, with a total land surface of 16,803 km², is the largest province in Panama, the most sparsely populated, and the least well known. It is a region of dense tropical rainforest. Its indigenous population of Emberá, Wounaan, and Kuna live in settlements scattered along the numerous river valleys; their villages are interspersed with communities of the descendants of escaped slaves from Africa, called Darienitas.

Until 20 years ago, there were no roads in the Darién; now there is a gravel highway cutting through its center down as far as the town of Yaviza, 100 km short of the Colombian border. This 100-km stretch is the only uncompleted piece of the Pan-American Highway, which connects overland commerce between North and South America. While most of the traditional inhabitants of the Darién travel by river, the highway has opened up the region to loggers, cattle ranchers, and landless peasants from the overcrowded interior provinces. This influx of population is threatening both the indigenous people and the natural forest.

Since the time of the Spanish conquest, those of European descent have called these lands "empty quarters," as if they had no inhabitants. Sadly, this colonial ignorance of indigenous peoples has persisted into the present. Indian lands considered vacant are prime targets for government colonization schemes. The Indians have been made "invisible," and their claims to the territory they inhabit are not recognized.

This is beginning to change. Indian groups throughout the shrinking tropical forests of Central America are presently fighting to gain secure title to their territories. Conflicts over indigenous land rights have become one of the most pressing social issues in the region.

In early 1993, the Congreso Emberá-Wounaan-Kuna began working with the Centro de Estudios y Acción Social Panameño (CEASPA) on a project to map indigenous land use in the Darién. From May through October 1993, a team consisting of two professionally trained cartographers and 23 local surveyors (*encuestadores*) made maps that meticulously depict river systems and show where local communities hunt, fish, farm, cut firewood, gather building materials, and collect medicines. The maps clearly indicate the extent of the territory utilized by the indigenous peoples of the Darién and the ways in which they manage their natural resources.

The final map of the Darién, completed in March 1994, is crucial to discussions about the future of the region, which stands on the brink of massive and potentially devastating change. Although the proposed Pan-American Highway would cut through the very heart of their territory, Indians have thus far been given little voice in the matter. The mapping process and public forums are all attempts to change this situation. "We are making [our lands and their uses] clear to our government," said Leopoldo Bacorizo, the General Chief of the Congreso Emberá-Wounaan-Kuna, "so that it can understand and coordinate with us on solutions to problems that involve us."

— Mac Chapin



An indigenous encuestador (surveyor) with the Darién project drew this map with the assistance of villagers, who located the places they farm, hunt, fish, and gather medicinal plants and materials for houses, canoes, and crafts. Maps like this were combined with one another and with aerial photographs and older government maps to develop a single, accurate, authoritative map showing land uses for the entire area. Drawn by Requildo Cunanpio, courtesy Congreso Emberá-Wounaan-Kuna. Photo by Nicanor González, courtesy Mac Chapin

Mac Chapin is Director of The Center for the Support of Native Lands, an organization which works with indigenous land-tenure issues in Latin America.

Federación de Centros Shuar-Achuar: New Technology in the Ecuadorian Rainforest



The Shuar-Achuar Federation's radio classroom is broadcast daily between 7:30 a.m. and 1:30 p.m. Called to class by the sound of a conch shell blown by an instructor, students in each community listen to the lesson over a battery-operated radio. Instructors supplement radio lessons with discussion and work in the textbooks.

Photos courtesy
Smithsonian Institution

The Shuar and Achuar Indians live in the northwestern region of the Amazon River basin in a rainforest that spans part of the border between Ecuador and Peru. In Ecuador, they have been working for more than 30 years to build their relatively small, isolated forest communities into a federation that can defend their lands, civil

rights, and cultural identity. Their work has borne fruit and serves as a model for the emerging quest for rights to indigenous territories throughout the hemisphere.

Shuar territory was generally left alone by outsiders until the 1960s, when the Ecuadorian government began a program to resettle farmers from the overpopulated highland regions. Commercial livestock projects devastated the forest but created a few wealthy farmers, including some Shuar. These individuals pressured the government for the legal right to divide communal lands, a step that would have made it more difficult to defend the area from outside encroachment. Miguel Tankamash, a founding member of the federation, recalls its response: "Land must not be a business or a market stall, for land is our mother. But our only guarantee that our land not be expropriated

or invaded by colonists is to legalize our ownership of it according to the law of the nation."

In the Shuar world, land is collective property, so the Shuar have fought to establish "global" land titles. The organization they have built to do so employs traditional ideas and practices of social organization, but also makes use of contemporary technology like surveying and map-making to defend territorial rights, and radios and airplanes to link dispersed communities.

With the help of nongovernmental and religious organizations, as well as the Peace Corps and international funders, the Shuar began surveying, mapping, and titling over 400 *centros* or communities. They have successfully established legal title to over 80 percent of their land.

The Shuar Federation has developed a broad range of programs, including one in bilingual radio education, SERBISH (Sistema de Educación Radiofónica Bilingüe Intercultural Shuar). Begun by Salesian missionaries in an effort to incorporate Indians into the larger Ecuadorian society, bilingual radio has been transformed by the Shuar, who use it to revitalize their culture. Courses in language, mathematics, social studies, natural science, and health address Shuar and Achuar culture, their traditional governing structures, and the precarious rainforest environment and its management. Programs also emphasize bilingualism. Today the radio school directly serves some 200 remote forest communities, although the programs reach communities as far away as Peru.

The wisdom that informs the federation's activities grows from local culture, the knowledge built over generations that supports and enriches human life in a particular place. Miguel Tankamash says, "We are committed to rediscover and revalue this land, with all its resources that are our life."

— Olivia Cadaval

CIMCA: Women's Popular Education in Bolivia

For Bolivian Aymara and Quechua Indian herders and farmers, who live on the treeless, windswept Oruro plains 13,000 ft. above sea level, life is not easy. A national economic crisis in the 1980s devastated the region, reducing sheep herds, shriveling markets for small farmers' cash crops, and throwing thousands of tin miners out of work. Men migrated in increasing numbers, leaving their women relatives to care for small family farms and eke out a living from them. One campesina said, "We work, but no one sees. It's always the mothers and their daughters who are expected to look after the sheep. Who are the real sheep here anyway?"

Traditional forms of Andean society rest on a kind of participatory democracy with rotating leadership and reciprocal social obligations, from which, however, women have become excluded to varying degrees. Contemporary rural development agencies also have frequently failed to recognize the important economic roles of women and provide them needed support. For the last 11 years, Centro de Capacitación Integral de la Mujer Campesina, known as CIMCA, has been working with communities to help empower women and to strengthen and reform organizations by broadening their membership base to include women.

With educational strategies based on the work of the influential Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, CIMCA creates its program in collaboration with local communities. As co-founder Evelyn Barrón explains, "Our educational method is a circular process of recovering, ordering, and returning native culture." While learning to make and use puppets, to play a variety of educational board games, and to act in sociodramas, community members probe the exploitation and humiliation they experience within the community as women and within the larger society as Indians. CIMCA also trains *educadoras populares*, or "community educators," who bring CIMCA's program to their home communities. CIMCA's objective is not to provide answers but to teach people how to raise questions.

Overcoming deeply entrenched barriers to reach and mobilize rural women is perhaps the single most difficult task in development. CIMCA's success in this area is exemplified by Flora Rufino, a CIMCA graduate. "First by joining, then by leading group discussions, I have learned how to talk with, not at, people. Now I can speak clearly and forcefully in public. I have the skills to keep minutes or to run a meeting, and I know how to analyze issues in ways that enable the community to inform itself about national as well as local problems." CIMCA has aided women's rights and ethnic empowerment and has inspired the people of Oruro to uncover community cultural resources with which they can shape their own future and prepare for that of their children.

— Kevin "Benito" Healy



Women study the first in a series of posters labeled "Do we know our history?" It depicts an Aymara couple making a libation to the mountain. Standing to one side and pointing to the poster, the discussion leader asks, "What is going on here in this one? What does it mean?"

Photo by Fernando Soria, courtesy Inter-American Foundation

Raised Fields in the Altiplano



In Lakaya, one of the first communities to participate in the Wiñaymarka raised-field project, Aymara women gather harvested potatoes. A group of community members dance for the Pacha Mama (Mother Earth) to show gratitude for a bountiful crop. Researchers Alan Kolata and Oswaldo Rivera began archeological research in 1978 that later would lead to the reconstruction of raised fields. In 1986, peasant families began to reconstruct the agricultural fields in several communities.

Photo by Alan L. Kolata

Alan L. Kolata is a professor of anthropology and the Director of Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago. He has been working in Peru and Bolivia among indigenous people for 20 years.

Few people are aware that a great nation of Native Americans still live in the heart of South America. The Aymara occupy a rugged, mountain world of soaring, glaciated peaks and forbidding plateaus perched around the shores of Lake Titicaca. They and their ancestors have lived on the rolling, seemingly endless high plateaus of southern Peru and northwestern Bolivia for millennia.

Gazing around them, Aymara see a landscape of constant change. One moment their high-altitude world is extravagant, glistening with water, bursting with the colors of mountain wildflowers and ripening grain. The next, it is parched cold, desiccated to a sterile, dun-colored desert. To the Western eye, the *altiplano* is a desolate, intractable place, unfit for humans. In Bolivia and Peru, Western-trained agronomists and other development specialists routinely characterize the *altiplano* as "soil unfit for agriculture, suitable only for extensive and temporary grazing." Yet what these agronomists and development specialists see is an historical artifact. Their vision is short, focusing on the present and the near past. They assume that recent human underutilization of the *altiplano* stems from inherent environmental limitations. But the real causes of underutilization are sociological, historical, and economic in nature. Catastrophic demographic collapse, internal migration driven by national and international economic forces, loss of traditional cultural practices – these elements are more germane for explaining recent, indigenous underutilization of the Andean *altiplano*. Knowledge of long-term historical and cultural developments in the area offers a truer perspective on its potential for human use.

In fact, over 1,000 years ago, the Andean high plateau was an astonishingly rich environment, one that supported vastly more people than today, in a highly organized pre-Inka society known as Tiwanaku. Why was the Andean *altiplano* more productive in precolumbian times? The answer lies in a special agricultural technology called raised fields, which was lost for the last millennium. This recently rediscovered technology now holds the promise of helping to solve the food problems of future generations in this poverty-stricken landscape.

Raised-field agriculture in the high plateau promotes drainage and lowers local water tables to reduce root rot. It mitigates the effects of frosts, and promotes the conservation of water and the recycling of essential nutrients. This intensive agriculture supported the native state of Tiwanaku, which flourished from 300 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The raised-field complexes of the Lake Titicaca region in Peru and Bolivia represent the largest, virtually continuous expanse of this cultivation system in the world.

The raised-field rehabilitation project represented at this year's Festival combines modern technology with the agricultural and environmental wisdom of the past. It demonstrates that the *altiplano* is not, inherently, a marginal environment for agricultural development. With the proper technology, the high plateau has the potential for producing tremendous harvests and contributing to the development of the contemporary Native American inhabitants of the region.

— Alan L. Kolata

Raised Fields for Sustainable Agriculture in the Bolivian Amazon

Until about 30 years ago, Western academic opinion agreed that the Amazon Basin could never have sustained large populations; due to the limitations of a tropical environment, the area could support only hunting and gathering and slash-and-burn agriculture. Subsequent archaeological research proved this opinion wrong. The savannas and forests of the Bolivian Amazon were, in fact, once densely populated by well-organized societies, and the landscape was heavily modified by precolumbian farmers. In the early 1960s, William Denevan and George Plafker uncovered evidence of massive earthworks in the savannas of the Llanos de Moxos, including raised fields, canals, causeways, reservoirs, dikes, and mound settlements. A joint project involving the Inter-American Foundation, the Parroquia of San Ignacio, the Bolivian Institute of Archaeology, and the University of Pennsylvania has developed an experimental program to put raised-field agriculture back into use.

Shallow flood waters cover much of the low-lying lands in the Llanos de Moxos during parts of the rainy season. The rest of the year, dry conditions prevail and water is scarce. The alternation between seasonal flooding and seasonal drought, combined with poor soil conditions and lack of drainage, makes farming these areas difficult.

The ancient inhabitants of the area created an agricultural landscape to solve these problems and make the area highly productive. They constructed a system of raised fields, or large planting surfaces of earth elevated above the seasonally flooded savannas and wetlands. Experiments have shown that raised fields improve soil conditions and provide localized drainage and the means for water management, nutrient production, and organic recycling.

Experiments in raised-field agriculture began in 1990 at the Biological Station of the Department of Beni in Bolivia. Because of its success, the project expanded into indigenous communities of the region. During 1993, the communities of Bermeo and Villa Esperanza decided to collaborate. They donated land, and the Inter-American Foundation provided funds to pay community members a small daily wage to build and maintain the fields.

The raised fields have produced impressive harvests of manioc and maize. Community members carefully record data on each field to see whether these high levels can be sustained over a series of years.

While initial construction costs of raised fields appear high, the high productivity which may be sustainable over a long period of continuous cropping makes raised-field farming a labor-efficient technology. Little maintenance is necessary to keep the fields in production.

Many areas with similar conditions throughout lowland tropical Latin America could be farmed using raised-field technology. Highly productive raised-field farming could provide sustainable agricultural development for local communities and offer an alternative to cutting down the rainforest.



Farmers work together to build a raised field in the community of Bermeo in the Department of Beni, Bolivia. First they lay out the field with stakes and line. Then, using shovels, picks, digging sticks, and hoes, groups of 20 to 40 men, women, and children clear the surface vegetation and begin to dig out the canals between fields to provide earth for the platforms. They grow corn, manioc, beans, plantains, peanuts, and sweet potatoes on the raised platforms. The community decided to use the potential growing space of the water-filled canals also, and planted wet rice.

Photo courtesy Clark Erickson

Clark Erickson is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

— Clark Erickson

APAEB: Struggle & Sisal in the *Sertão* in Brazil



Association members load sisal bales at the Batadeira Comunitária, APAEB's processing plant in Valente, Bahia. Trucks owned by APAEB deliver the sisal directly to the docks in Salvador, from where it is shipped to Mexico, the United States, and Europe. Until APAEB was established, farmers sold sisal fiber at half the export price.

Photo courtesy APAEB

The peasants who live in the *sertão*, the semi-arid region of Bahia in the northeast of Brazil, have a long history of struggle. A mixture of peoples of African, Portuguese, and indigenous American descent, they have made a home in one of the most drought-ridden areas of Latin America. Its severe droughts force *sertanejos* to seek work outside the *sertão* sometimes for two and three years at a time. When not compelled to migrate, the *sertanejos* grow corn, beans, and manioc to eat and sisal, an agave plant processed to produce fiber for rope, as a major cash crop. Called *ouro verde do sertão*, "green gold of the *sertão*," sisal was introduced from Mexico at the turn of the century. Today it employs 80 percent of the region's peasant population. Sisal harvesting and processing involve all family members including children, and rely on the cooperation of neighbors.

Land, drought, migration, and struggle to make this difficult place a home are central themes in the cultural identity of the region. Musicians compose songs about the *sertão*. Storytellers tell its history in cheaply printed chapbooks illustrated with woodblock prints. These contain stories and poems about legendary heroes and events of local interest. The storytellers string the chapbooks on ropes to display them for sale in the marketplace. For sale at the same markets are clay figurines that depict, among other themes, scenes of people migrating and living in temporary exile.

In 1980, a group of small farmers founded the Associação dos Pequenos Agricultores do Estado da Bahia, commonly known as APAEB, an organization set up to break the grip of commercial middlemen and private industries on peasant sisal producers. Over time APAEB has built a self-managed system to collect, transport, process, and directly market its product in Brazil and abroad in Mexico and Europe. Rising in membership from 220 to 2,000 members, it has become the foremost small-farmer organization in this area, helping its members economically and affirming their cultural identities. As one farmer from Subae-Serrinha stated, "APAEB não era só a venda, não, era a luta" (APAEB is not only about marketing but about struggle).

APAEB has evolved into an important grassroots service organization providing basic agricultural and consumer products at lower prices through a network of dry goods stores; introducing sisal production techniques for improved environmental management; channeling financial credit and technical assistance for a variety of crops; and centralizing sisal processing within an industrial complex of 600 part-time workers. APAEB strengthens the organization and its members' cultural identities by fostering festivals, music performances, community storytelling, and other events. It has enabled local farmers to acquire a voice in local politics, helping them to add new dimensions and strategies to their struggle.

— Olivia Cadaval

El Ceibo: Andean Traditional Organization & International Chocolate

Following land reform and the abolition of serfdom in Bolivia in the 1950s, peasants migrated in streams to the sparsely populated Alto Beni region on the eastern edge of the Department of La Paz. The prospect of rich and unlimited farmland waiting to be carved out of virgin tropical rainforest lured thousands of settlers from Bolivia's highlands, where Aymara and Quechua Indian families were being economically squeezed by overcrowding, land fragmentation, and low prices for cash crops.

Accustomed to wide-open spaces, cool temperatures, and highland crops, they suddenly had to shed their heavy woolen clothing and learn to deal with heat, insects, new diseases, and an entirely different type of agriculture.

But although they had to give up their attire, they kept their distinctive local traditions of music and dance and other expressions of ethnic identity. They built a new life on the strength of shared Andean forms of collaboration and social organization, particularly a system of rotating leadership and reciprocal community obligations.

In the 1970s, a dozen agricultural cooperatives sprung up in the new settlements along the Río Beni. In 1978 these groups joined together to establish a federation to increase the income earned from cacao by jointly processing and marketing their product. Over the next 15 years, El Ceibo gradually grew to become one of the most widely known and respected rural cooperatives in Bolivia. Its membership in 1994 consists of 37 co-ops, whose 900 members benefit from an array of services including transport, agro-processing, technical training, commercial credit, and related agricultural production, research, and extension services. El Ceibo now manufactures its own chocolate products, obtaining for its members an added value seldom available to native producers. Its annual export of \$600,000 worth of organic cacao beans and chocolate products has made El Ceibo a household name among ATOs (Alternative Trade Organizations) in Western Europe, and recently its products have reached health food stores in the United States. El Ceibo's chocolate is also sold in various forms to national industries, small shops, and street vendors in Bolivian cities.

El Ceibo's dynamic system of self-management is based upon traditional Aymara organizational practices of frequent leadership rotation, wage equality, and consensus-building assemblies. To ensure its autonomy, El Ceibo provides extensive training in business, finance, and agricultural skills and sends selected members for study abroad and to Bolivian universities. El Ceibo sponsors cultural festivals in which each of the 37 member communities performs the dance and music traditions they brought from their native communities in the highlands.



Women members at El Ceibo's processing and manufacturing plant in La Paz, Bolivia, package cocoa for national and world markets. Members working at the plant relocate temporarily to the city from their homes in the Alto Beni region, which are 10 hours away by truck. Co-op members rotate jobs every two years.

Photo by Robin Bowman, courtesy Inter-American Foundation

— Kevin "Benito" Healy

ISMAM: Organic Coffee Production in Chiapas



ISMAM farmers reverse the effect of erosion with organic agriculture. In their experimental compost pile, ISMAM technicians explain how the center post gets hot when the compost is ready. Photo courtesy ISMAM

Recently brought to international attention by the Zapatista insurrection, Chiapas has Mexico's most politically neglected and economically depressed peasant population, the majority of whom are Mayan Indians. In the 19th century, Mayan Mames from the bordering western region of Guatemala settled in the hills and high valleys of the Sierra Madre mountains in the southeastern region of the state. More recently, Mayan Tzeltales, Tzotziles, and Tojolabales, lacking sufficient land within the confines of their traditional territories in the eastern and northern highlands of Chiapas, also have migrated to the Sierra Madre. These Indian farmers have sought work on the large coffee plantations on the Pacific coast of this region. But plantation work is short term, only a fraction of the year, and refugees from Guatemala are often willing to accept lower wages for it. An alternative to wage labor is growing coffee, as well as corn, beans, potatoes, fruits, cabbage, onions, and squash in the higher altitudes, on small farms on the steep mountainsides. But these parcels of land have been eroded by many years of slash-and-burn agriculture, overgrazing, deforestation, and the use of chemicals. Local earnings are further diminished by restricted access to transportation and marketing through "coyotes," or intermediary buyers.

In contrast to the Mayan groups in the northern highlands of Chiapas, who still have a rich textile tradition, migrants to this coffee-producing region no longer weave. But their social organization and work patterns continue to be shaped by a traditional council of elders and a system of reciprocal community obligations.

In 1985, in response to conditions of economic exploitation and the continuing degradation of agricultural land, the Catholic Diocese of Tapachula promoted the formation of the farmers' cooperative Indigenas de la Sierra de Motozintla "San Isidro Labrador," known as ISMAM. The cooperative has introduced organic coffee-growing techniques in the area, has developed international marketing, and has taken over management of a coffee-processing plant. Incorporated in 1989, ISMAM is directed by an elected board; however, its structure is decentralized, following a traditional organizational pattern and allowing the greatest participation to all its members in local communities. Delegates are elected on a rotating basis and participate regularly in *asambleas* (council meetings) and in working committees.

The 1,200 small-scale organic farmers of ISMAM export over \$2.5 million a year of coffee to the United States and Europe. ISMAM farmers run model, state-of-the-art, organic, labor-intensive coffee farms. They combine the cash crop with traditional subsistence farming, which permits maximum use of the limited land through a diversification of plants. ISMAM consults with local elders as well as with outside specialists to develop organic, ecologically sound agricultural practices that preserve, and in some cases regenerate, the natural environment. Built on local wisdom and outside help, ISMAM contributes to the local quality of life by successfully carving out an organic niche in the international coffee market.

— Olivia Cadaval

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT



Thailand: Traditions of the Household, Temple Fair & Court

A potter works at home in Maha Sarakham Province, Northeast Thailand. Potters in this village produce unglazed vessels for the local market.

Photo by Richard Kennedy



by Richard Kennedy

Many Americans become acquainted with one aspect of Thai culture when they eat at one of the hundreds of Thai restaurants that have opened in American cities over the past two decades. These establishments have enriched American cuisine at the same time that the Southeast Asian community has enriched the ethnic composition of our country, and they offer Americans a glimpse of Thailand quite different from the images wrought by the Vietnam War or, earlier, by the ever-popular Broadway hit, "The King and I."

There is of course much more to Thai culture

than its food. For several millennia, Thailand has been a crossroads of Chinese, Indian, and other regional cultural traditions. This history is reflected in the diversity and complexity of modern Thailand, a predominantly Buddhist nation of over 58 million people located in the heart of mainland Southeast Asia. It has been a challenge

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for the Thailand Office of the National Culture Commission and the Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies to organize a Festival of American Folklife program that represents the cultures of this complex society with only 75 traditional artists. A partial solution has been to focus on three arenas of Thai cultural life – the household, the temple fair, and the royal court – where food, along with performance genres and crafts, serve to define what is uniquely Thai.

The geographical area now known as Thailand has been settled for over 10,000 years. Archeological evidence at Ban Chiang in Northeast Thailand confirms the practice of rice cultivation perhaps as early as 4000 B.C., bronze production as early as 3000 B.C., and some of the earliest examples of textiles and pottery in world history. The linguistic evidence is speculative but points to a presence first of Austronesian (present-day Indonesian and Polynesian)-speaking peoples, and later, of Austroasiatic (Mon and Khmer)-speaking peoples who settled throughout Southeast Asia over several millennia B.C. In the first millennium A.D., Mon and Khmer peoples, influenced by Indian civilization, established the first organized states in the region. The extent of the 7th-century Mon kingdom of Dvaravati in the Chao Phaya River basin remains unclear; however, the power of the subsequent Khmer kingdoms that centered around Angkor Wat in present-day Cambodia is well documented. The influence of these empires and of the peoples whose ancestors built them is still felt in modern Thailand.

Most people in contemporary Thailand speak a language which belongs to the T'ai family. These languages are closer in structure to Chinese than to Khmer or Indonesian. Although some aspects of the origins of T'ai-speaking peoples are still subject to debate, most scholars seem to agree that they came from an area in southeast China, where many T'ai speakers still live. These immigrants probably came to central Thailand in the first millennium A.D. while the Khmer empire was flourishing. With the decline of the Khmer empire, T'ai speakers established a central Thai kingdom based first at the capital of Sukhothai and then farther south at Ayutthaya. With the destruction of

Ayutthaya, a city of 800,000, in 1767 by Burmese troops, the capital moved southward again, and in 1782 a new dynasty, the Chakri, was established in Bangkok. The present monarch, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, is the ninth in the line of Chakri rulers.

Thailand remained independent throughout the 19th century and served, in part, as a buffer between the French in Indochina and the British in Burma and Malaysia. To retain this independence the Chakri kings had to give up some of their territory to the European powers. Khmer and Lao lands went to the French, Shan and Muslim lands to the British. By the time the constitutional monarchy was promulgated in 1932, the borders of present-day Thailand had been established. As



Temple fairs occur throughout Thailand to celebrate the Buddha's birthday, the anniversary of his teachings, the founding of the temple, and other community and national events. Photo courtesy Royal Thai Embassy

with most nation-states, these borders cut across ethnic and linguistic communities.

Twentieth-century Thailand is generally recognized to be divided into four regions, Central, North, Northeast, and South; each has its distinctive dialect of Thai. Central Thai, however, is the standard language used in education and broadcasting. Although over 85 percent of the population of Thailand have, to varying degrees, learned to speak and read central Thai, a majority of the



people speak a different dialect or even language at home. Approximately 50 percent speak Northern or Northeastern Thai, a sizable number of people speak Khmer or Mon, while nearly 11 percent of the population are ethnic Chinese. Four percent are Muslim, who live mainly in the South and speak Jawi, a form of Malay. Groups of Sino-Tibetan-speaking tribal people (Hmong, Karen, Lahu, and others) live mostly in the Northern mountains and comprise less than 1 percent of the population.

The cultural diversity of the country has been a subject of concern since the 19th century and especially after the constitutional monarchy was established in 1932. Among attempts by nationalist, and particularly anti-communist, movements to unify the country were a series of cultural mandates promulgated from 1939 to 1942 under Prime Minister Phibun Songkhram. The best known of these changed the name of the nation from Siam to Thailand. Siam primarily named central Thailand, and the government wanted to confirm the broader geographical boundaries of

A troupe performs lakhon chatri, a dance-drama reflecting many of the aesthetics of court dance. They often perform in temples in Phetchaburi Province. Even though courtly in appearance, the stories for the dance come from the Buddhist Jatakas and are full of risqué humor, satire, and buffoonery. Photo by Richard Kennedy

the state. Although the term *thai* actually means “free,” it also resonates with the T’ai language family and establishes a close association between all T’ai speakers and all Thailand.

Later mandates discouraged individual identification with the four regions and encouraged the teaching of the national language, Central Thai. The subsequent teaching of Central Thai has helped to unify the country, but regional identity has remained alive, without apparent detriment to the nation-state.

Earlier in the century, King Rama VI had proclaimed three pillars of the state – nation, Buddhism, and monarchy – an ideology of national unity like that of state monarchs of his day.



A procession of courtiers are accompanied by musicians as they enter the compound of the Grand Palace in 1930. Photo courtesy Thailand National Archives, Department of Fine Arts

These pillars have continued to guide state formation and development. The Festival program on Thailand chooses a different triad – “Household, Temple Fair, and Court” – and explores three arenas of That life in which distinctive aspects of the nation’s culture are manifest.

Home and family remain important anchors in the lives of Thai people as they do in the lives of many people in rapidly changing societies. Most ceremonies for birth, marriage, and death, which often employ Hindu rites and include the participation of Buddhist monks, take place in the house. And many of the deeply rooted craft traditions of Thailand – weaving, metalwork, and even the production of instruments and masks for various performance traditions – are still conducted at home, using skills and knowledge passed down within family and community. In the Household Area of the Festival one can find these home-based traditions, and a narrative stage for discussing the changing cultural traditions of the country. These discussions will include demonstrations of rituals that are most often done at home and have roots in animist traditions.

Many public events, including fairs, take place at a local religious institution called a *wat*. A *wat*, sometimes misleadingly translated as monastery, is found in almost every village, and provides a

home and school for monks, as well as a center for family, community, and national celebrations. It also can provide a temporary shelter for homeless persons and, in the city, for newly arrived immigrants.

Seasonal celebrations held in the *wat* include the annual temple festival, the Rains Retreat during which young Thai men for a brief period take their vows to be monks, the Buddha’s birthday, and the anniversary of the first teachings of the Buddha. The temple fair (*ngaan wat*) is an opportunity for the community to meet, buy food and small items including Buddha amulets, and see performances by local dance-drama troupes. Funerals are also sometimes held in the *wat* compound and may include music and traditional performances such as the puppet theater. The Temple Fair Area at the Festival will attempt to recreate the feel of a *wat* celebration with large shade umbrellas and displays. Mural painters and gilt artists will decorate a temple wall nearby where kite makers and lacquerware artists demonstrate the skills of temple fair crafts. Nearby a stage will host puppet theater, *lakhon chatri* dance-drama, and *mo lam* singing.

In selecting “Court” as the third arena of Thai culture, the Festival may appear to have departed from what some consider the class base of folk-life presentations. However, those familiar with

Thailand agree about the pervasive and ongoing influence of the monarchy and its culture on the region up to the present day. This influence affects and is intertwined with the cultural lives of most Thai people.

For example, Cambodians and Lao people, as well as Thais in the United States, most often choose to make dance and music traditions of the court part of their cultural identity; these traditions are developed as their community's representative art, which becomes the cultural inheritance of American-born children. This cultural choice is not surprising when the meaning of the monarchy, especially in present-day Thailand, is understood.

King Bhumibol continues to be a symbol of national unity. He has selectively stepped in to solve political controversies with the approval of a vast majority of Thai people. The king is a symbol of Thai Buddhism despite the strong influence of the Khmer language and of Hinduism in much of the language and ritual of the central Thai courts from the 13th century onwards. The refined artistic traditions of the court reflect the complexities in the region, and the king embodies their successful and meaningful integration.

There is an enduring artistic exchange between court arts and village traditions. The artists of the court and their traditions have continued to come from villages throughout Thailand – weavers from the Northeast, dancers from Cambodia, ceramics from Thai-Chinese potters. H.M. Queen Sirikit perpetuates this close relationship through her sponsorship of the SUPPORT Foundation, which

Richard Kennedy is the co-curator of the Thailand program at the 1994 Festival of American Folklife. He previously was the curator of the Hawai'i ('89) and Indonesia ('91) programs at the Festival and concurrently is Chairperson of South Asian Area Studies at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center.

has been active in reviving local craft traditions and assisting in the development and distribution of products to supplement the incomes of thousands of village women.

The same close interrelationship that exists between court and village is also found between temple and household. Throughout the Festival program the audience has an opportunity to see these connections. A mask maker working at home fashions *wai khru* masks used ritually by performance troupes, monkey masks for a court *khon* performance, and toy masks given to children at home and sold to tourists at a temple fair. A Pu Thai weaver in Kalasin or a Khmer weaver in a small Surin village weaves cloth for everyday wear, silks for wear at the annual temple fair, and fine silk sashes for others to wear at court. The *lakhon chatri* drama troupe appears at a temple fair in courtly finery but soon begins to make fun of ancient ways and modern predicaments.

Traditions of the home, the temple fair, and the court have been interwoven throughout Thai history.

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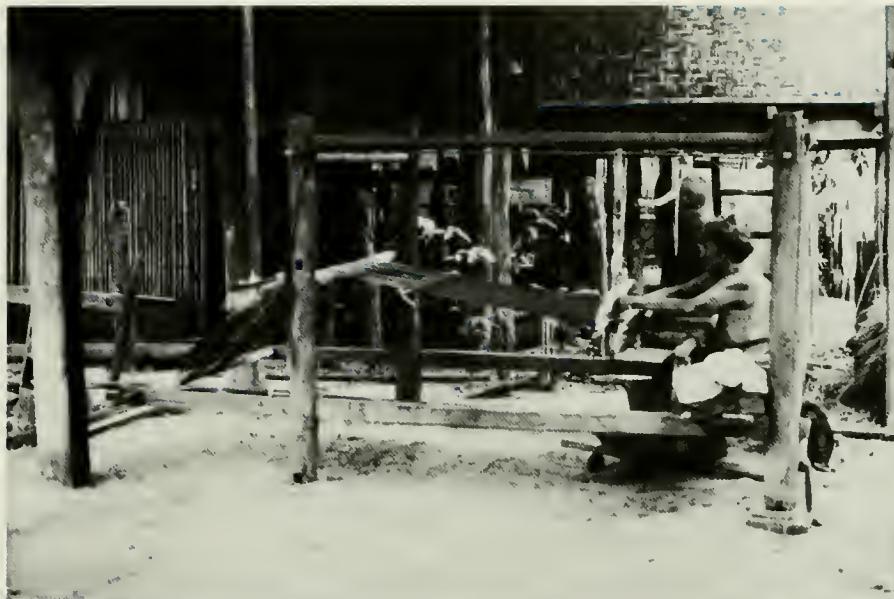
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Women's Textiles & Men's Crafts in Thai Culture



A woman weaves at a loom under her house in Baan Chaan Laan, Ubon Ratchathani Province. Photo by H. Leedom Lefferts

by H. Leedom Lefferts

Under many houses in Thailand today, especially in the Northeast (Isaan), even in this era of ready-made clothing, stand looms. The values associated with the production and display of beautiful textiles pervade Thai culture.

As in all cultures, dressing a certain way signifies putting on a particular identity. The clothing worn by Thai men and women is related to gender, age, and locale. In villages, women usually wear the *phaa sin*, a tubular, wrap-around skirt; their upper garment is a loose T-shirt or blouse. But younger women today often wear the international style of jeans and shirts. When doing manual labor, women may don *phaa sin* or pants and long-sleeved shirts, often with a hat and head-scarf to protect against sun and wind.

Men usually wear Euro-American-styled pants and shirts. However, in private – in villages and even in cosmopolitan Bangkok – men often wear the *phaa sarong*, a tubular, wrap-around skirt with a plaid design secured with a twisted knot in the male style. Women tie their *phaa sin* by making a flap and tucking this securely into the skirt's waistband.

Clothing in a culture as complex as that of the

Thai embodies styles from many historical and contemporary sources and signifies the variety of identities contemporary Thais adopt. Some outfits are ethnic, such as the indigo-dyed, striped *phaa sin* of the Lao Song of the western Central Plains. Other styles indicate an individual's occupation. Many large corporations, such as banks, require women and men to wear a uniform based on European design, which may vary according to the day of the week. Thai civil servants, including college professors, also have such uniforms. Most importantly, King Bhumibol, Queen Sirikit, and other members of the royal family wear an array of uniforms and formal and informal dress based on European fashion.

The Thai "traditional" style of clothing has always been varied and subject to change. Royal dress has been influenced by the prevailing fashions of powerful trading partners. Indian textiles, for example, appear regularly in illustrations and descriptions by early European visitors. But styles can move in two directions. A delegation of Thai ambassadors to the French court in the 1600s brought such glamorous textiles to Paris that a new fashion began there.

Royal dress has also influenced the attire of Thai common people. M.R. Kukrit Pramoj's famous semifictional chronicle of *Four Reigns*,

covering the period from approximately 1870 to 1950, notes that the marriage of a princess from the northern kingdom of Chiang Mai to the Bangkok king influenced fashionable women to adopt the tubular *phaa sin*. Previously, the prevailing Bangkok style was the *phaa chong kraben*, in which the ends of the long hip wrapper are twisted together, tucked backwards between the legs, and folded between the wrapper and the small of the back. Today in Thailand, only elderly



Bride and groom present cloth gifts to women relatives of the groom in Baan Hua Chang, Maha Sarakham Province. Photo by H. Leedom Lefferts

rural women in Nakhon Ratchasima (Korat) Province, members of the Thai Korat ethnic group, continue to wear *phaa chong kraben*.

M.R. Kukrit also notes that, at the beginning of World War II, the prime minister, Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram, promulgated several rules regarding attire. These included injunctions that shoes must be worn in cities, men must wear pants, women must let their hair grow (the prevailing Central Thai style was short hair), and, especially, women must wear hats. This code prescribed proper attire for a country aspiring to developed status. Appropriate dress publicized and personified his strategy for development.

Today, in a reversal of the reliance on foreign textiles, Her Majesty Queen Sirikit has developed a program to preserve and encourage Thai home production. Her SUPPORT Foundation assists local weavers, while Her Majesty consciously influences fashion by publicly wearing locally produced fabrics and promoting the sale of these

textiles through the well-known Chitralada shops.

Textiles are important in Thai culture other than as dress. Before there were chemical paints to decorate houses, textiles were often used to beautify a structure for a ceremony. Colorfully patterned door curtains shielded rooms from inquiring glances. Cloth also can be used to tie something up, to properly and ceremonially "dress" it.

Thai textiles convey religious meanings in funerals and monastic ceremonies. Village weaving stops for a day when a death is announced; weaving indicates the continuation of life, interrupted at death. Banners, sometimes several meters long, memorialize deceased loved ones and may be flown on monastery grounds on the day when the Vessantara Jataka is read; the monastery simulates a luxurious palace to celebrate the life of the penultimate Buddha. Processed yarn and completed monks' robes may be donated to monks during a funeral, bringing merit to the deceased and to the mourners.

TEXTILES AS WOMEN'S WORK

Textile production as women's work in Thai culture, as in most of Southeast Asia, creates a wealth of connotations. Weaving is a sign that a young woman is reaching adult status by gaining the ability to provide for the textile requirements of a household. Because women control the giving of textiles to monks, fathers, husbands, sons, and daughters, they actively participate in and in some sense control the establishment of localized Thai social systems.

At marriage, a bride normally presents gifts of cloth to her husband's mother, father, and other close relatives. In Northeast Thai villages, I have seen presentations of silk *phaa sin* and shoulder cloths and cotton pillows and stuffed mattresses. At elite weddings in Bangkok, a bride may present expensive Gucci towels. These presentations affirm women as providers and organizers of the Thai domestic scene.

The role of women in Thai culture extends much further than providing a properly managed home. When a son reaches age 20, he may become a monk for the three-month period of the Rains Retreat, from mid-July through mid-October. Young men who become monks say they do this for their parents, especially their mothers, to whom they can transfer merit made during this period. Three of the eight requisites which a young man must possess in order to enter the



monkhood involve a set of robes. While today these robes are usually bought in a market, they are still given formally by a mother to her son.

These examples show that textiles produced by women perpetuate the Thai social system by properly dressing household and family. Moreover, the presentation of textiles establishes the standing of those who embody important social values in Thai culture.

MEN'S CRAFTS

In traditional Thai culture women's textiles complemented men's crafts. And as women's weaving production has dwindled because of the availability of factory-produced items and the possibility of wage employment outside of home and village, traditional men's crafts have declined for similar reasons. However, crafts are still important in certain contexts and illustrate the dynamic balance that existed between men and women in preindustrial Thai culture.

Men engaged in crafts that women usually did not, those related to wood and bamboo: building houses, carving statues and containers, producing gunpowder and making fireworks, and "weaving"

A man in a silk phaa sarong and shoulder cloth presents alms to monks in Baan Dong Phong, Khon Kaen Province. Photo by H. Leedom Lefferts

bamboo into baskets. Before marriage, young men and women often gave each other presents. Women usually gave gifts made of cloth. Men gave baskets and presented *kan maak*, wooden or lacquered footed trays in which a woman would keep material for chewing betel. Recently, a curio market in old betel nut boxes has emerged, but once in a while one finds an elderly woman saving a box that her husband gave her when they became engaged.

Several older village monasteries and many provincial cultural centers now collect and preserve wooden Buddha statues carved by monks in earlier days. These had often been discarded as new, glossy, mass-produced images became available, but increasingly, with the encouragement of the royal family and government, Thai rural people are becoming aware of the social value of their craft heritage.

Certain religious festivals conserve craft traditions that might otherwise have become lost. For

example, Bun Katin, the festival in the month following the end of the Rains Retreat during which new robes and other necessary goods are presented to monks, often requires the production of several kinds of baskets that appropriately contain these gifts. The New Year's Ceremony, in which a village renews itself and wards off misfortune, also may see the production of baskets to carry objects as gifts or for presentation to the monastery.

The production and use of textiles were major parts of women's economic and symbolic roles in premodern Thai culture. Textiles signified women's power to control a complex technology and to define others by presentation of the objects necessary in Thai society. In spite of the inroads made by factory-produced textiles, a number of expert weavers continue production. Some continue weaving to make money, others weave to have gifts to present at appropriate times, and still others produce beautiful cloth solely because

H. Leedom Lefferts is professor of anthropology, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey. He has conducted fieldwork in Thailand since 1970. His interest in textiles and village crafts began when he observed the importance of such work in the lives of Northeast Thai women. He co-authored the catalog and was associate curator of the international exhibition, "Textiles and the T'ai Experience in Southeast Asia," organized by The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

of the pleasure it affords them.

Complementarity between women's household organization and textile production and men's monkhood and craft production continues and appears fundamental to Thai gender construction. Each gender has its goals of providing for particular cultural and social necessities.

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Seub Jata, A Thai Ritual in the Home



Seub Jata ceremony in Northern Thailand. Photo by Vithi Phanichphant

by Vithi Phanichphant

In Thailand many ceremonies that mark life's passages, like birth, marriage, and death, are held in the home. For Northern Thais, especially the Lanna people, the Seub Jata is a ceremony celebrated at home to generate good fortune and ensure well-being. Seub Jata means extending life, lengthening a happy existence, and the ritual can be performed after a person endures hardship, sickness, or other adversity; or during Thai New Year rites, in April; or at a house-warming ceremony; or at a birthday celebration; or when one achieves an appointment to an important position; or when one receives a poor horoscope reading and wishes to avert misfortune. All are occasions for supporting life.

Seub Jata probably has roots in the early Southeast Asian animistic practice that preceded the arrival of Buddhism. Many parts of the cere-

mony contain elements of shamanism, and its Buddhist chants and rites seem to be more icing than real content. Through ritual arts participants honor the gods and spirits; cleanse the self by burning and discarding symbolic objects; overcome obstacles and journey into new life; establish firm supports to life; make merit by releasing captive lives and halting agony; and affirm Buddhist precepts and pathways toward happiness.

To prepare for a Seub Jata ritual, a host sets an auspicious date in consultation with an astrologer, checks the availability of a shaman, asks for the assistance usually of nine Buddhist monks, and invites relatives and friends, who often contribute ceremonial items or help with preparations.

Ritual objects and acts reflect both Buddhist and animist concepts. A Buddhist altar with candles, flowers, and joss sticks is augmented by perfumed water, a splasher, and a beeswax candle.

Near the chief monk's seat are a ball of white cotton string and palm-leaf scripture, fresh flowers and joss sticks, and an offering tray for the spirits on which are placed betel nuts, flowers, candles, joss sticks, rice grains, cowry shells, a red-and-white-textile, perfumed water, and silver money.

The animist component is more elaborate, and central to it is a tripod of freshly cut tree saplings about 2 inches thick and 7 feet long, under which the host sits during the ceremony. Twigs about 2 feet long, whose number matches the age in years of the person ritually involved, assist these three major life supports. Two 6-foot long bamboo poles, one containing sand, the other water, recall the combination of earth and water elements in a person. A miniature ladder usually made of banana stalks holds payments for a smooth life journey upward; these include gold and silver threads, red and white flowers, betel nuts, puffed rice, cigars, and tea leaves. A wooden bridge envisions passing over difficulty. A candle or oiled cotton strip as long as a person is burned to cleanse one's life and physical body. A large banner in human shape represents a purified soul. Live sprouts of coconut, betel, sugar cane, and banana symbolize a new beginning. Gold- and silver-colored pots envision prosperity. A new drinking-water jar, with bowls of unhusked rice, milled rice, and sand, portray endless wealth with their countless grains. Large bunches of fresh bananas and fresh coconuts provision a long life's journey, and a woven bamboo eagle's eye and a twisted grass robe offer protection. A new mat and pillow represent a new place to sleep, and new household utensils, such as a stove, especial-

ly at a house-warming ceremony, represent a new, prosperous stage of life. A straw tree of 108 small flags pays homage to all lordships and deities. A square tray of food, flowers, and joss sticks is an offering to all devas and spirits, particularly the gods of the four cardinal directions. A *baisri*, a neatly arranged tray of foods set in elaborately folded banana leaves, attracts a person's 32 spirits to come and stay. Caged birds, live fish, turtles, and shellfish will be set free as an act of making merit.

At nine or ten o'clock in the morning the host lights the joss sticks and candles at the altar to begin the event. The chief monk raises the tray of offerings to the spirits and chants words of praise. The shaman leads a chant paying homage to the Lord Buddha and requesting the Buddhist five precepts. A series of chants invites various forms of good fortune and well-being. The long cotton string is fastened to the altar, the monks' hands, the top of the tripod, and the heads and palms of all who are to benefit from the ritual, including the host. After the chanting and a monk's reading of the Buddhist manuscript, the monks perform a *baisri* ceremony in which they tie cotton strings to the wrists of host, friends, and relatives to stabilize their spirits and souls. Lunch is then offered to the monks. While they eat, the host gently releases the caged animals. A feast and entertainment follow.

Vithi Phanichphant was born and raised in Northern Thailand. He received his B.A. and M.A. from UCLA. Since 1972 he has taught art at Chiang Mai University, where he is presently Lecturer in the Faculty of Fine Arts.

Dancing the Past & Present: *Lakhon Chatri* Performers from Phetchaburi Province



by Mary L. Grow

For centuries Theravada Buddhism has played a central role in shaping the cultural lives of the vast majority of people in Thailand. Within a temple compound most people – villagers, merchants, politicians, performers, royalty, and ascetics – have paid tribute to Lord Buddha and his teachings through prayer and collective celebration. The temple fair (*ngaan wat*), a tradition common to all regions of the country, has always brought diverse sectors of a community together for a colorful spectrum of activities. Participants can “make religious merit” by listening to the sacred recitations of Buddhist monks and also attend a variety of performances staged to honor the guardian spirits of a temple.

Part of the temple fair tradition, *lakhon chatri* is one of Thailand's oldest extant forms of dance-drama. Historical documents and temple mural paintings suggest that it dates back to the early years of the Ayutthaya era (1351-1767). Invocations transmitted from dance-drama masters to

Lakhon chatri performers prepare costume and make-up at a temple fair in Phetchaburi province. Photo by Mary L. Grow

aspiring performers suggest that *lakhon chatri* was originally sponsored by patrons wishing to gain the beneficial and protective powers of the spirit world.

Today in Phetchaburi Province, southwest of Bangkok, where I did recent field research, *lakhon chatri* continues to be performed as an offering to spirits. Here dance-dramas highlight the ritual practice known as *kac bon* (fulfilling a vow), in which supplicants ask a spirit for help in accomplishing a difficult task, and then pledge a dance-drama offering to the spirit if their request is granted.

I first saw a performance of *lakhon chatri* in 1986, in the courtyard of Wat Maha That, a prominent Buddhist temple in Phetchaburi Province. The temple's guardian spirit was being celebrated at a *kae bon* ritual featuring a *lakhon chatri* offering. Dressed in glittering crowns and sumptuous costumes, the performers evoked the spectacle and glory of an ancient Siamese court. A chorus of voices accompanied by an orchestra praised the institution of kingship as the two performers portraying a royal couple slowly danced.

The mood created by this authority and elegance was abruptly broken, however, when a brash character entered the performance and began to tell risqué stories, describing the romantic exploits of the dance-drama monarch in some detail. The character, sporting a checkered snake for a headdress, improvised a comic routine replete with sexual joking and provocative play. In a moment, the comic's antics exposed hidden passions and illicit behavior in an overtly flawless king. The audience and the chorus laughed heartily.

Irony, satire, and ribald humor are characteristic of Phetchaburi *lakhon chatri*. Performers typically build a serious dramatic scene and then, with the introduction of a joker, overturn it with humorous dialogue, slapstick, and general buffoonery.

Spontaneous social commentary regularly occurs within the framework of comic drama, a feature Thailand's *lakhon chatri* shares with many theatri-



Jokers perform a comic routine with novice performers. Photo by Mary L. Grow

cal traditions world-wide. Through their comic improvisations, performers combine aspects of the worlds they live in and create. And meanings that audience members perceive in the dramatic action are multilayered, relating both to the unfolding dance-drama and to the larger, ever-changing, and sometimes contradictory world of contemporary Thailand.

While the origin of *lakhon chatri* remains obscure, performers claim that their art form is historically connected to the southern dance-drama known as *manora*, which is also often done as a spirit offering. The majority of stories performed by *lakhon chatri* dance-drama troupes come from the Thai Pannasa Jataka, a collection of the original 50 Buddhist tales called the Jatakas, to which 11 more were added sometime between 1400 and 1600 A.D. The story entitled "Manora" is the most popular

Jataka associated with *lakhon chatri*. Dance-drama troupes in Phetchaburi Province perform not only the Buddhist Jatakas, but also dance-dramas derived from folk tales and from the classical literature of celebrated Thai poets.

Dance-dramas usually depict exploits of ancient kings and warriors, and a highlight of every performance is a cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil. In these battles goodness triumphs over evil, and harmony is restored, outcomes that have ritual effect as well as moral significance. The didactic message "good begets good, and evil begets evil" is played out in a series of performances typically lasting for several days.

While the message of good and evil is common to many folk parables and epic dance-dramas, *lakhon chatri* performers have a unique way of arriving at this conclusion and revealing it to an audience. Their art of masking a character's true nature often makes it difficult to know exactly who represents the forces of good and who represents the forces of

evil. This is the crux of a *lakhon chatri* performance, and the audience must actively solve this puzzle in order to see that good triumphs over evil.

The deceptive nature of appearances is a major theme in Buddhist doctrine, which postulates that the phenomenal world of everyday experience is illusory, filled with ignorance and misconception. In *lakhon chatri* dance-dramas, performers recreate this kind of experience. They manipulate aesthetic forms to construct a set of adversaries who embody good and evil and divine and demonic qualities in complex and paradoxical ways. Heroes and heroines, who ultimately have divine power, are usually disguised as country folk, jungle dwellers, or animals. Villains, who have demonic power, often masquerade as members of royalty or as beautiful and virtuous women. As these adversaries challenge each other during a dance-drama, they resort to the art of masking. They try to dupe the inattentive with their disguise and to encourage the audience to believe that the ethical perspective they advocate is the only true one.

A performer's skill in masking not only includes overt actions like wearing headdresses and costumes to make an audience instantly recognize a particular character; it also includes the less tangible ways performers create perceptions through narration, dance, and improvisation. Comic performers in *lakhon chatri* use a variety of antics, puns, and satire to question the virtue of characters who have something to hide. As the forces of good and evil strive to create competing perspectives, comic performers respond to them, unmasking the demonic characters or stringing them along so that they ultimately destroy themselves in a moment of weakness. Comedy also masks the intentions of good characters determined to see evil avenged and destroyed, protecting them with the false personae of country bumpkins, animals, or other characters typically dismissed as nonthreatening.

Lakhon chatri performances punctuated by comic drama refer to activities, relationships, and experiences that come from a wide range of sociocultural contexts and are transformed into dance-drama by the artists. The contradictions that are a fundamen-

Mary L. Grow is a medical anthropologist at the University of Wisconsin, Department of Family Medicine, where she has worked on Southeast Asian refugee community health issues. She has also worked with Tibetan refugees in India and the United States. Dr. Grow received her Ph.D. in anthropology at University of Wisconsin, Madison.

tal part of human existence are also played out, particularly through masking and comedy. One moment performers present a world from a particular perspective, which in the very next moment shifts. Through these paradoxes audiences cease to be mere spectators and become actively involved in sorting out apparently contradictory relationships.

Lakhon chatri performers, particularly jokers, represent themes and images that have a long history in Thai society, such as the Thai kingship. But they also incorporate newly defined desires, social attributes, and commercial forms currently popular with their contemporary audiences. These might include an imitation Rolex watch taking on powers formerly attributed to a magic crystal, or an epic warrior wooing his beloved with a ballad from the latest pop charts in Thailand. Comic performers playfully and pointedly incorporate perspectives that have never been a part of *lakhon chatri* before. In doing so, they keep pace with contemporary developments and revitalize their ancient performance tradition. But they also reveal to audience members the eternal truths inherent in the dance-drama, the teachings that transcend all represented contradictions, even those of past and present.

Lakhon chatri dance-dramas are set in an era regarded sentimentally by many people in Thailand, but comic performers playfully encourage audience members to re-examine those idealized constructions of the past. Through the improvised antics of a joker the dance-drama celebrates human action and social hierarchy based on Buddhist principle, but also pays tribute to the complex vitality of the present. As visitors to a temple fair indulge their current appetite for spicy delicacies of local cuisine and have their futures told by astrologers and soothsayers, they often experience an important part of Thailand's heritage anew through the innovations of *lakhon chatri* performers.

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Isaan Storytelling

by Wajuppa Tossa

For centuries storytelling has been important in all levels of society among the Isaan people of Northeast Thailand, who speak a related group of dialects. When a baby is born, fellow villagers visit, entertaining themselves by reading stories from palm-leaf manuscripts, reciting or singing verse stories, or narrating tales in prose. Mothers sing lullabies that often tell stories. Grandparents and parents recount folk tales to entertain children and to teach them proper conduct and morals. Children tell stories to each other. At social gatherings such as Buddhist merit-making ceremonies, wedding receptions, ordination ceremonies, and wakes, storytelling or story-singing is a major form of entertainment.

The Buddha used many stories known as the Jataka tales to illustrate his teachings. One of these, called "Thet Mahachaart" or "Bun Phawet," tells the story of the Buddha's incarnation as Prince Vessantara. It is told in almost every Isaan village for one day (24 hours) every year in the fourth lunar month. If a devotee can participate in the entire ceremony, from the procession of painted scrolls to the temple through the entire sermon, it is believed he or she will gain a life in the age of the next Buddha, when everyone will be equally healthy, prosperous, and peaceful.

Once performed as a serious reading aloud by a monk or a series of monks, "Bun Phawet" has been

transformed within the past 30 years by the addition of new performance styles and melodies. The changes have pleased audiences and kept them listening from beginning to end.

Thet siang (the sermon of voices) is a style of religious narration in which three to six monks assume different dramatic parts. The performance begins with a summary of the story chanted by the leader both in Pali, the Buddhist language, and in the local Isaan language. Each monk chants the role of his character in a different tune.

Although a recent innovation, the sermon helps preserve the Isaan language and literature. The monks who perform *thet siang* are students of an old Isaan language, as well as ancient forms of Pali and Thai, memorizing old verse stories and composing new ones. *Thet siang* performances are now held in private homes on religious and festive occasions as well as at temples. At least 23 groups of monks perform almost every day in the Isaan region and in Central Thailand. Part of the money earned from performances is used for improving the monks' living quarters, building new temple meeting halls, and constructing temple water tanks.

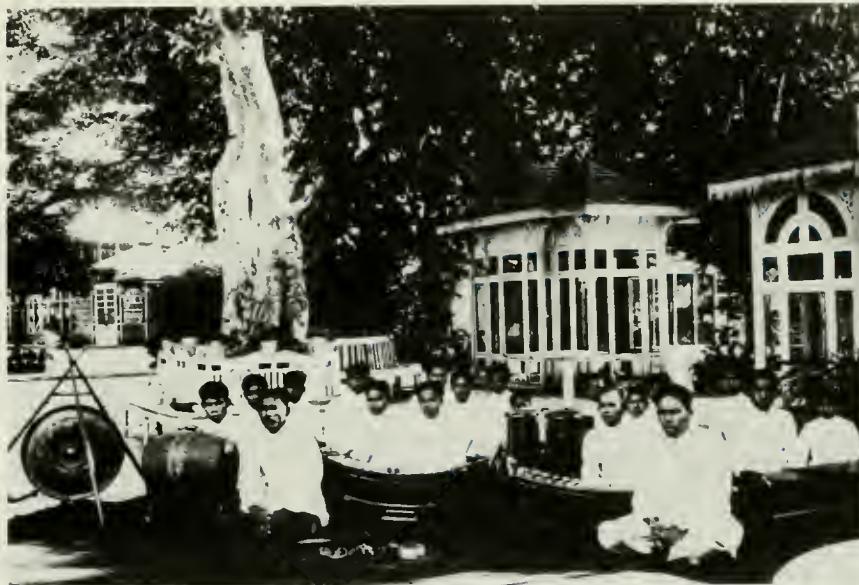
The more popular the *thet siang* is, and the more the beauty of the old Isaan language and poetry is heard, the less, it is hoped, will be the feeling of cultural inferiority among the speakers of Isaan dialects, particularly the Lao. And we also hope that the moral content in performances of *thet siang* will enable us all, including the monks, to rise above human lust and greed.

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Wajuppa Tossa is currently the Vice-President for Research and International Relations at Srinakharinwirot University, Maha Sarakham. She received her Ph.D. at Drew University and has lectured on Thai/Isaan literature at three universities in the United States under the Thai Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program.

Performing Arts of the Royal Court



A *phii phat* ensemble performs at the former Bang Khun Phrom Palace in Bangkok in 1921. Ensembles such as these, previously supported by the court, are now supported by the Department of Fine Arts or Thai universities.

Photo by Somdet Khrom-maluang Sri Rattanakosin, courtesy Thailand National Archives, Department of Fine Arts

by M.R. Chakrarot Chitrabongs

In his deep sleep one peaceful night, King Rama II of the royal house of Chakri, who reigned 1824-51, dreamt that he was sitting in a beautiful moonlit garden. The brightly shining full moon slowly floated toward him. He also heard the strains of a most wondrous music. He sat there in awe of the sight and sounds until the moon floated away and the music faded. The King woke up, but the magical music was still vivid in his memory. He immediately summoned the court musicians and played the song for them on his *saw sam sai*, the three-stringed fiddle. The song was given the name "Bulan Loy Luen" or "The Floating Moon." One of the most famous songs in the whole of the Thai classical music repertoire, it gives us a glimpse into the role of music in the royal court of the early Bangkok period.

King Rama II ascended to the throne 32 years after the inauguration of Bangkok as the new capital city in 1782. Bangkok had been built by King Rama I, who reigned 1782-1824, to replace the old capital, Ayutthaya, which had been totally destroyed by warfare in 1767. Within a decade, by 1792, the glittering architecture of Bangkok's Grand Palace and Royal Chapel became the new symbols of national integrity and identity. The

royal court, with all its component parts, was reinstated as the seat of power. One of the components was the court performers, who were retainers of the king and were charged with ceremonial and entertainment duties.

In the early Bangkok period, court or "classical" arts were extremely refined. The female court performers enjoyed the sanctity of the exclusively female "inner court." Their upbringing, designed to give them a refined deportment considered essential for members of the nobility, included music and dance training from the early age of five or six. The female court performers specialized in the *lakhon nai*, which may be literally translated as "the dance-drama of the inner court." This style of *lakhon* places emphasis on dance movements, musical quality, and highly crafted costumes.

Male performers were also retained by the king. They provided instrumental music for state ceremonies. The *lakhon nok*, or "dance-drama outside the royal court," was performed by male dancers and female impersonators in lively presentations which were much more suited to the general audience and were of lesser artistic quality than the *lakhon nai*. Only males could participate in another genre of classical performing art, the *khon* masked dance. The sole story performed in the *khon* is the *Ramakian*, the Thai version of the

Indian epic, the *Ramayana*. Celebrating Lord Rama in accordance with the Hindu belief that Rama was an earthly manifestation of Vishnu, the Protector of Humanity, the *Ramayana* appears in all aspects of Thai arts and culture and is thought to have been introduced into Thailand well before the development of Thai culture itself.

The importance of the *Ramakian* in Thai culture becomes clear when one notes that immediately after the 1782 inauguration of Bangkok,



Dancers wearing elaborate headdresses, masks, and dress perform a battle scene between Rama and his enemy, Thosakan, during a stage production of the khon. Photo courtesy Royal Thai Embassy

King Rama I ordered the restoration of three important literary works that had been partly destroyed during the fall of Ayutthaya and the ensuing social disintegration – the *Tripitaka* Buddhist Canons, the “Law of the Three Seals,” and the *Ramakian*. The King had compiled a new set of manuscripts for these works from what had remained, combined with what scholars could remember. The *Ramakian* was the King's own composition in verse. One version of many, it is the longest and most complete compendium of all the earlier royal court and popular versions, and is popularly known as “The Rama I Version of the *Ramakian*.”

Oddly, King Rama I wrote the *Ramakian* for the *lakhon nai* and not for the *khon*. What makes this surprising is that the main characters are fierce demons and monkey warriors, roles rarely danced by women. The reason for the choice is revealed in the very last verse, in which the king clearly stated that his composition was intended

for entertainment purposes only. The *khon*, on the other hand, was traditionally part of the royal regalia and was performed for the glorification of the king. The king's statement is a very important indicator of the role of the performing arts in this period. Court entertainment was considered as essential an element in Thai culture as religion and law.

During the Second Reign of the Bangkok period (the reign of King Rama II), the court arts flourished, partly due to relative political stability and freedom from armed conflicts, and partly to the fact that King Rama II himself was an accomplished artist. Many works of art are attributed to him, including a masterpiece of poetry written for the *lakhon* entitled “Inao.”

Royal patronage ensured the livelihood of the royal court artists during the reigns of Kings Rama I – III, the so-called early Bangkok period. However, profound changes were to take place during the “middle Bangkok period,” in the reigns of Kings Rama IV and V. Western powers had made their presence strongly felt in the Southeast Asian region during the mid-19th century, and the need to attend to them resulted in an influx of Western cultural elements. Western military band music was imported to serve the Western style military; to welcome state visitors, new Thai performing art genres were invented that corresponded to the musical concert and the opera. These many new roles for performing artists to fill inflated their number to such an extent that the royal court could not support them all.

Other members of the royal family and the nobility began to retain performing artists in their households. The new patrons encouraged their charges to be dynamic and creative, to compete amicably with each other. Highly gifted artists were sought, and grand music masters came to the fore, composing more and more wonderful music and writing variations on old themes. At this time, the demands on the musicians' intelligence, dexterity, and stamina were intense. Instrumentalists trained for hours each and every day in the search for fame and recognition. Successful performing artists were given titular honors, and their achievements were recorded for posterity.

The princely patrons considered it their duty to serve the state by supporting the performing arts. Two notable examples may be cited. When King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V, who reigned 1868-1910) expressed his wish for a

Thai classical equivalent to the Western concert, Prince Naris (son of King Rama IV), an artist, architect, and designer, created a completely new artistic genre, the Thai musical concert. In response to another request, the Prince and his associates created the Thai version of the Western opera. Known as *lakhon duckdamben*, it was a derivation of the classical *lakhon nai* in which the presentation was livelier while the artistic quality was maintained. The dancers also



Children perform in a modern ensemble of traditional Thai musical instruments at the Thailand Culture Centre in Bangkok. Photo by Richard Kennedy

spoke and sang their own lines, just as in opera.

The golden age of Thai classical performing arts waned between the two World Wars and especially during the Great Depression, which also deeply affected the Thai economy. Palace households could no longer support numerous retainers and disbanded their groups of musicians and dancers. The royal court performers were transferred out of the royal household into a newly created government department called the Fine Arts Department. Other artists found employment in government institutions such as the Public Relations Department and the music departments of the armed forces, or maintained

M.R. Chakraro Chitrabongs is co-curator of the Thailand program and currently Director of the External Relations Division of the Thailand Office of the National Culture Commission. He was previously Deputy Director of the Thailand Cultural Centre, responsible for performing arts. He was educated at Cambridge University and is a member of a family of royal descent which continues to maintain support for the performing arts.

themselves in "households," living and working as professional groups as well as training their own children and other youth.

At present, the Fine Arts Department is officially responsible for the continuation of the national heritage, preserving the royal court performing arts and training new generations of classical artists. It now supervises 11 Colleges of Dramatic Arts situated in various parts of the country. The method of training is wholly and deliberately traditional, so that the art form remains intact not only at the performance level, but in spirit as well. Students still undergo the various stages of *wai khru* initiation rites and pay ritual homage to the grand masters of the past and present. Their instructors are still regarded as teachers, mentors, and parents, as they have been through the ages.

Although, as was mentioned, most of the princely palaces ceased to patronize performing artists for a period of time, a few have revived

their interests. At least three are now running music and dance schools to which modern parents can send their children at a very young age. The most outstanding example of royal patronage in our time is that shown by Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, daughter of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Rama IX, the present monarch. At the onset of the Information Age, Thai children, youth, and adults are enjoying a spirited vitalization of the classical performing arts under her leadership. Her Royal Highness is undertaking Thai classical music and dance training. She has become an accomplished musician, often performing with groups ranging from secondary school children to military cadets, university students, senior citizens, and grand musical masters.

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Domestic Arts of the Grand Palace



by M.R. Putrie Kritakara Viravaidya

In Thailand, it can be said, the home (*baan*) centers the household, the temple (*wat*) focuses the village, and the palace (*wang*) unifies the nation. At home a child learns respect for elders and responsible codes of behavior that guide him or her throughout life. Traditionally, the temple was the place of instruction for social and religious values, schooling a youth for increased work and responsibility. Greater knowledge and broader horizons would later be gained in service to the throne.

For over 700 years, craftsmen have served the throne by building grand palaces of successive kingdoms with their residential complexes, audience halls, and pavilions. Form and ornamentation attest to their skills honed in lengthy training and apprenticeship. Not only villagers became craftsmen, but children of the king and his retainers,

A court lady, her short hair and sleeveless bodice popular fashions around the turn of the century, strings a floral garland within the compound of the Grand Palace. Photo courtesy Thailand National Archives, Department of Fine Arts

male and female alike, also learned crafts.

The domestic arts of the court ladies residing in the inner sanctum of the Grand Palace primarily served the king in his observances of the traditional rites that pay homage to royal ancestors or that make merit by presenting food, ceremonial robes, and ecclesiastical fans to Buddhist monks. These ladies were proficient in culinary skills, perfumery, and flower arranging, as well as sewing and embroidery. Court ladies today continue these arts as employees of the court.

In cooking, court ladies create the ideal traditional Thai meal, which blends spicy, salty, subtle,

sweet, and sour tastes and is appealing to eye, nose, and palate. In addition court ladies painstakingly embellish the royal cuisine by weaving papaya strips into goldfish shapes and carving vegetables and fruits into leaves and flowers to be cooked or used as containers for other food.

Palace perfumery includes the traditional knowledge of making water-based scents (*nam ob*), alcohol-based perfume (*nam prung*) and chips of scented talc (*paeng ram*). It was said that the imprint of a lady of the court was a lovely scent on the floorboards, even though she had long left the premises.

Ladies of the court also practice traditional skills of flower arranging to decorate altars of homage. Compositions vary from flowers or petals on a cone-shaped, sawdust base (*poom chud*) to flowers on short wooden sticks inserted into a cone-shaped, clay base (*poom puck*). Offerings are also made of plantain leaves folded and sewn as containers or as shapes with symbolic meanings.

Hanging floral compositions include a circular formation (*puang keo*) suspended from ceilings or between curtain openings, a miniature window of strung flowers (*viman taen*) hung in a window opening, and compositions usually of gardenia petals threaded and woven into net-like arrangements of three elongated shapes (*jarake*) that to the initiated resemble a crocodile. Garlands (*malai*) put around the bases of Buddha images or hung from one's wrists or neck are strung in various sizes. Individual petals are often used and leaves are sometimes added to provide contrasting color and texture. A delicate touch and an eye for pattern are

the traditional skills of domestic crafts at court.

The art of embroidery demands the same talents. Gold threads embroidered in the bodice scarves worn by female members of the royal family and silver and gold threads embroidered in ecclesiastical fans presented by the king to Buddhist clerics had to be handled very carefully with dry fingers lest they became tarnished and tangled. Court embroiderers made intricate designs with patience and dexterity.

Ladies of the court still practice the art of making the monks' robes presented by the king at the royal *kathin* rites for 16 royal monasteries at the end of the rainy season. They cut bolts of material in irregularly shaped patterns and sew and hem them to make rectangular pieces of cloth which they then dye, wash, iron, and fold. The hours of labor involved are inestimable, as each individual stitch in the robes requires rubbing the sewing needle in beeswax to make it easier to pass through the heavy material.

The ladies of the court, or *fai nai* (those inside), are committed to the perpetuation of traditional domestic arts.

When used to describe these arts, the words *chao wang*, literally "[of] the people of the palace," have always been a guarantee of exquisite beauty, high quality, and superb workmanship.

M.R. Putrie Kritakara Viravaidya is currently Director of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej's Personal Affairs Division in Bangkok.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS



Traditional Culture in The Bahamas

by John W. Franklin

When most people in the United States think of The Bahamas, they think of vacations, cruise ships, beaches, sun, snorkeling, casinos, and possibly banking. What they do not realize, however, is that a rich and vibrant Bahamian culture has evolved in these islands over the past four centuries, shaped by the forces of migration. After the Spanish removed the last of the indigenous Lucayans to work elsewhere in the Caribbean, the archipelago was settled by English who had left Bermuda for greater religious freedom and brought enslaved Africans with them. After American independence, British Loyalists and their slaves arrived from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In the 1820s, Black Seminoles escaped from the Florida coast and settled on the island of Andros. Throughout the 19th century, British ships freed Africans headed for slavery in the Americas and gave them land in The Bahamas. In the 1880s, tourists from the United States, en route to Havana, began to stop in Nassau, and hotels instituted racial segregation to accommodate them. Chinese, Syrian, and Greek immigrants, as well as people from throughout the Caribbean moved to The Bahamas, and Bahamians traveled to Europe, the United States, and Panama, primarily in search of work but for schooling as well. Although White Bahamians make up less than 15 percent of the population today, they dominated politics until majority rule in 1967.

All of these people from Britain, Africa, U.S. African-American and British-American communities, Asia, and the Caribbean have had to develop strategies to survive in The Bahamas, and adapt their cultures to local realities. They express their creativity using local materials and themes. Communities throughout The Bahamas have developed their own specialties in crafts and foods, sacred and secular music, storytelling and narrative traditions, and their own particular accents. Over the past year, a team of Bahamian researchers knowledgeable in the history and culture of The Ba-

hamas have worked with the Smithsonian to assess and document contemporary traditional Bahamian culture. Bahamians have welcomed the researchers into their homes, farms, workshops, and places of worship, to family holiday gatherings and national celebrations, such as Junkanoo. To all we are grateful, for without these local experts, our project could not have succeeded.

Nassau, capital of The Bahamas on the island of New Providence, is a bustling city of banking, business, and tourism. It is home to more than half of the nation's 255,000 people and has attracted inhabitants from all of the other Bahamian islands. In Nassau can be found many layers of what constitutes Bahamian cultural life. It has well-stocked supermarkets, as well as fruit and vegetable vendors selling green-and-white pumpkins, hand-ground island grits, goat peppers, green pigeon peas, dried conch, sugar apples, caged land crabs, and bottled tomatoes. Nassau has cut stone and timber buildings that date back to the 18th century, old-money homes, new-money homes, homes that you can lift off their concrete- or cement-block bases and move to a better neighborhood when you can afford it. Nassau is a city of neighborhoods, from the White-owned Bay Street business district to the Black "Over the Hill" communities. It also has churches of every denomination.

Traditional Bahamian culture coexists with the modern and popular in Nassau, but it is sometimes difficult to discern. One must go to the Family Islands, or Out Islands, as they are still sometimes called, where the pace is less hectic and the distractions fewer, to meet many esteemed tradition bearers in their own element. Most Bahamians have not had the opportunity to visit more than one or two of the Family Islands, but they know people and stories from the islands.

On these islands, the "settlements," as towns are called, have not always been in close contact. Now

This program is a collaborative effort with the Commonwealth of The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism and the Department of Archives.

Father Rex Seymour shares his knowledge of the people and places of Cat Island with researchers.

Photo by John W. Franklin



they are often linked to one another by a single road; before these roads were built, people generally traveled from one settlement to another by boat. Their relative inaccessibility led to distinct differences between settlements and between regions of an island. Some houses, called "tabby" houses, are built of limestone and a mortar made of lime; others are built from native pine, imported wood, or cement and/or concrete block. Houses of an extended family are frequently clustered around a "big yard" that may include a well, a cistern for rain water, and a separate, thatched, outdoor kitchen with a fire hearth and "barn" (pantry). Nearby are fruit trees such as banana, citrus, and mango, other plants such as pepper bushes and pigeon pea plants, and herbs for use in bush teas.

Most of the houses have porches, and it is here that people sit and talk with passing neighbors, tell their grandchildren stories, shell peas, and plait straw. It was on porches like these where Ishmael Gaitor told us of the seven parts of the Quadrille dance, where "Trouble" McPhee welcomed us for a discussion of the bush medicine tonics she prepares, and where we learned that the women of Dumphries, Cat Island, would be baking flourcakes the next morning in a rock oven to sell at the Baptist board meeting later in the week. People selling homemade items often display them on the porch: preserves, coconut bread, straw mats, baskets, dolls, papayas, and watermelons.

The Family Islands are the breadbasket for Nassau and Freeport. The elder farmers produce the corn, tomatoes, cabbages, onions, okra, pumpkins, and fruit consumed in the big cities. The mail boats take this produce as well as fish and conch to the city; the Family Island residents in turn receive their supplies of fuel, chickens, pre-

scription medicines, canvas for sails, and timber and hardware for construction from the city. In addition to the inhabitants one expects to find on these rural islands – elders, their grandchildren and "great grands" – are young adults in their 30s and 40s who have moved to the Family Islands, disenchanted with the cities and seeking opportunities to establish new service

businesses. These newcomers now have the chance to learn the history of their settlements, the lore of their island, and the traditions that have sustained previous generations.

In addition to this physical interdependence between the cities and the Family Islands, there is a spiritual or cultural interdependence as well. Many of the oldest Bahamians were born in the Family Islands and associate them with home. The next generation spent part of their childhoods or memorable summer vacations with grandparents or aunts and uncles in the Family Islands. They heard the stories told by the elders at night; they helped with the chores when the island had neither electricity, paved roads, nor running water. They appreciate the boiled corn fresh from the field, the perfectly cooked crab and dough, and the flourcakes baked in the rock oven. Family Island associations have been established in Nassau to maintain ties in town among people from the same island, organize events, and assist in times of need. It is to these generations and their children that returning to a mother's or father's Family Island for Regatta or for Emancipation Day is so important. They do so not only to reacquaint themselves with family and neighbors, and sing and dance songs of their youth. They return to a place where tradition is revered. People know, trust, and speak to one another. There are street lights now, as well as speedboats, satellite dishes, and refrigerators, but Bahamian traditions are strong in the Family Islands, and everyone, Bahamian and visitor alike, can benefit from experiencing them.

John W. Franklin is co-curator of The Bahamas Program and serves as a Program Manager in the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.

The Peoples & Cultures of The Bahamas

by Gail Saunders

THE LAND & THE SEA

The Bahamian archipelago comprises about 700 limestone islands and cays and over 2,000 rocks stretching more than 500 miles southeasterly from just off Florida to Cap Haitien in Haiti. The climate is temperate, the terrain is mainly flat, and the soil is sparse. Primarily owing to the poverty of the soil, the population of The Bahamas, now numbering 255,000 people, has never been large. Yet the sea is "more fertile and far more spectacular than the land" (Craton and Saunders 1992:5), yielding fish, mollusks, and turtles and encouraging the growth of coral. The color of the water varies from place to place according to the water's depth but is generally turquoise and an almost undescribable green. The name "Bahamas" may be derived from the Spanish phrase *baja mar* (land of shallow seas), or, as Julian Granberry has argued, it may be of Arawak origin.

EARLY PEOPLING OF THE ISLANDS

It is believed that the first inhabitants of the Bahama Islands were the Lucayans, Arawak-speaking Amerindians, whom Columbus met on his epic voyage and landfall in 1492. By 1509 or so, they had been killed off by diseases and enforced labor both in the gold mines of Cuba and Hispaniola and in the pearl fisheries of Cubagua and Margarita.

The Bahamas remained depopulated for the next hundred years. Spain claimed the islands but neglected them for much more profitable enterprises on the Spanish Main. The British formally annexed The Bahamas in 1629, but no permanent settlement took place there at that time.

In 1648, a small group of about 70 "Independents" from Bermuda and England, with a small number of slaves, arrived at Eleuthera, seeking religious freedom. Their life was extremely harsh, but, as time passed, they learned to live from the resources of the land and sea. They collected sal-

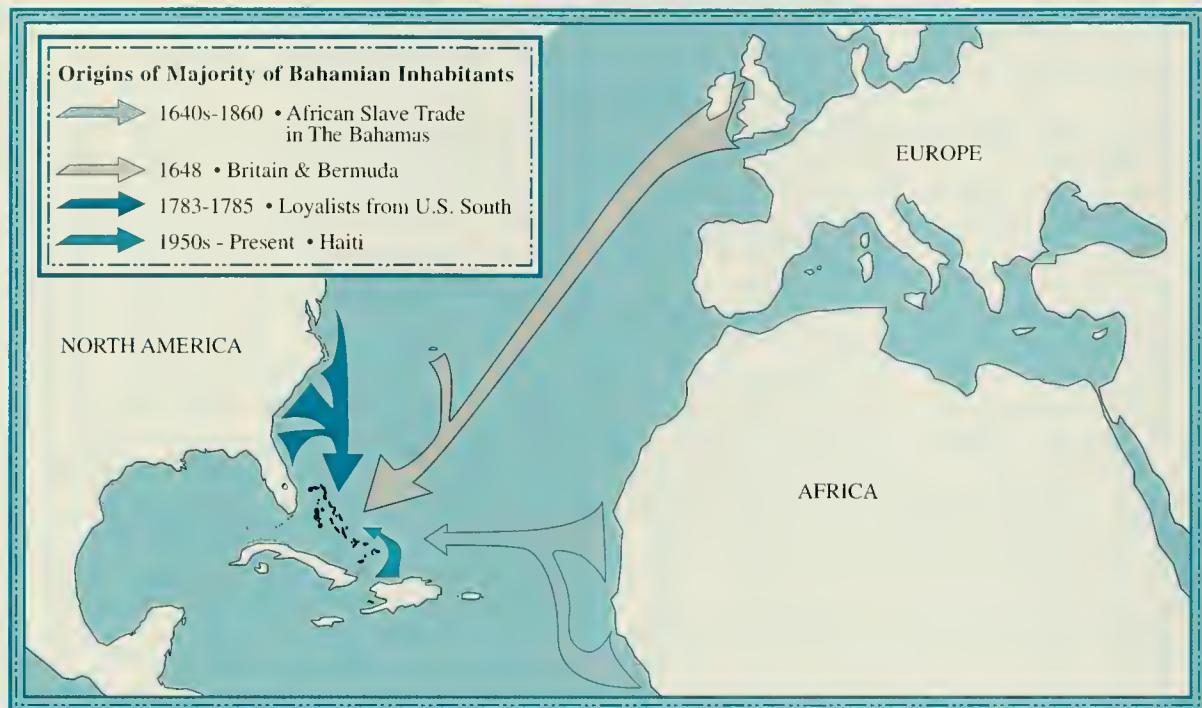
vage from wrecks and exported hardwoods, ambergris, and salt. Although many of the early Puritan "Adventurers" (as they were called) left, some pioneers, including the Adderley, Albury, Bethell, Davis, Sands, and Saunders families, stayed in The Bahamas, and were joined by poor whites, rebellious slaves, and free Blacks and Coloreds, all put out of Bermuda.

Before 1670, settlements were founded on Harbour Island and St. George's Cay (Spanish Wells), and by the end of the century there were believed to be settlers on Current Island and Cupid's Cay (Governor's Harbour) as well. Sometime around 1666, Sayles Island or New Providence, a sizeable island fairly near to the American mainland with an excellent sheltered harbor, was settled and soon had several hundred inhabitants. Charlestown, later renamed Nassau, became the Bahamian capital, and its main street, Bay Street, the center of commercial and political activity.

In 1670, the Bahama Islands were granted to six of the eight Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas. These Proprietors never visited The Bahamas and ruled by sending governors from England as their representatives. The Crown bought the islands from the Lords Proprietors, a sale that was not completed until 1785, however.

The Proprietary period (1670-1717) was a time of much lawlessness, due to the ineffectiveness of the governors, constant invasions by the Spanish and French, and the instability inspired by such notorious Bahamian residents as the pirates Edward Teach ("Blackbeard"), Captain Henry Avery, and Anne Bonny. Conditions changed slowly for the better when the first Royal Governor of The Bahamas, Woodes Rogers, arrived in 1718.

In 1721, The Bahamas had approximately 1,031 inhabitants, living mainly at New Providence (480 Whites and 233 Blacks), Harbour Island (124 Whites and 5 Blacks), and Eleuthera (150 Whites and 34 Blacks). Not much is known about the sub-



stantial number of Blacks in New Providence. Most were slaves, but some were free. However, what is clear from slave regulations passed in 1723 is that the White settlers felt threatened by the Black presence (Saunders 1990b:11).

Some efforts were made in the early 18th century to diversify the economy. The most lucrative sources of trade remained woodcutting, salt raking, the gathering of turtle shells and ambergris, and the collection of monk seal oil for export. Because the inhabitants were not inclined to farm, no staple crop was developed; they seemed to prefer seafaring activities, and the essentially maritime nature of the Bahamian economy would continue into the 20th century.

THE LOYALISTS & THEIR SLAVES

By 1773 the population of The Bahamas had grown to 4,000, with an almost equal ratio of Whites and Blacks living mainly on New Providence. However, in the space of two years, between 1783 and 1785, the population of The Bahamas doubled with arrivals from the recently independent United States of America. Known as Loyalists because they wished to remain British subjects, the majority of these American colonists came from the South, and they settled in New Providence and the Out Islands, many of which had had no permanent population before. The Blacks they brought with them, mostly Creole slaves born in the Americas, West Indies, or Bahamas, tipped the population balance

in The Bahamas, putting Blacks in the majority, where they have remained and now comprise 85 percent of the population. The creole society which evolved during the Loyalist era reflected strong influences from Europe, America, and Africa.

Many of the Loyalists tried their luck as merchants. They also developed the boatbuilding industry, which, although not prevalent today, is still practiced especially in Abaco, Andros, and Long Island. Farmers with large families and 10 to 100 slaves were induced by land grants to establish cotton plantations on the Out Islands. These thrived for several years, but by 1800 cotton as a commercial crop had failed, and most farmers were facing ruin. Many Whites left The Bahamas as a result.

Among the Blacks accompanying the Loyalists to The Bahamas, many claimed to be free, by virtue of having been born free, having purchased their freedom, or having been granted it by official decree. Among them were Joseph Paul, the first Methodist in The Bahamas, and Prince William and Samuel Scrivens, who set up the Society of Anabaptists in 1801 and established Bethel Baptist Church, out of which St. John's Native Baptist Church grew. The Baptist Church quickly gained converts among the Black population. While the Established (Anglican) Church took little interest in the slaves, the Baptists, with their stress on freedom, rousing music, emotional sermons, lively singing, hand clapping, and spirit possession,



Three women go to market in Grant's Town in the early 20th century. Grant's Town was founded in the early 19th century by the governor of The Bahamas to settle newly arrived Africans, thus keeping them separate from Nassau's White citizens. This photograph was published in 1936. Photo courtesy Nassau Magazine and the Department of Archives, The Bahamas

appealed to the Bahamian slaves as well as to the freed Blacks.

The slaves brought by the Loyalists comprised a youthful and healthy population that was increasing naturally at Emancipation in 1834 (Saunders 1985a:50). They were used to build the plantation system; when it failed, they worked as field laborers on farms and were utilized as salt-rakers, seamen, domestics, and artisans.

This migration of Loyalists and Blacks exerted a significant and long-lasting influence on countless areas of Bahamian culture. For example, the color and class barriers characterizing the social structure during slavery were intensified after the coming of the Loyalists and would continue well into the 20th century. On the positive side, the Loyalists improved record keeping and started a lending library. John Wells from Charleston, South Carolina, founded the first Bahamian newspaper, the *Bahama Gazette*, in 1784. Vernacular architecture reflects the introduction by slaves of thatching techniques and outside rock ovens. In Nassau, a number of public buildings and private residences

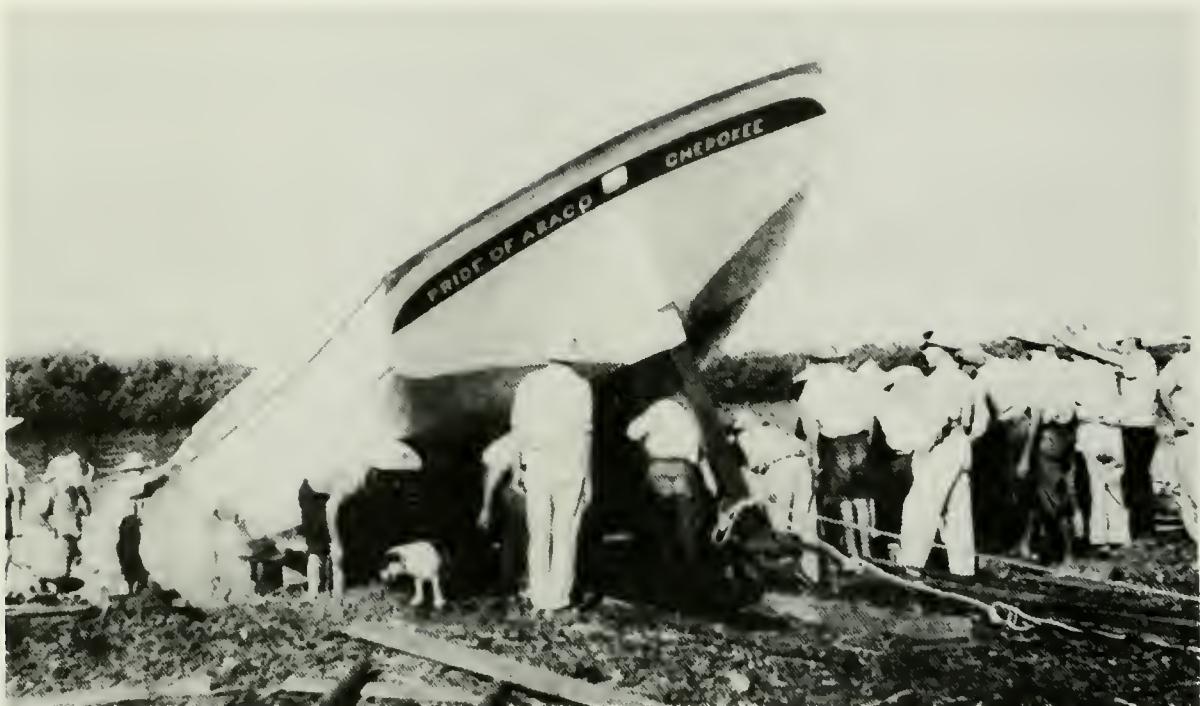
that are highly regarded today display stylistic elements brought by the Loyalists from their homes in the American South.

The slaves had kept alive many of their African customs, even though these were diluted by their new environment, and brought these as well as beliefs and folklore from America to The Bahamas. There they were reinforced by the coming of the liberated Africans, and still affect Bahamian culture today.

LIBERATED AFRICANS

After the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807, many African slaves were liberated from foreign ships by British naval patrols, and between 1808 and 1860, about 6,000 were settled in The Bahamas, mainly at New Providence. They were first "apprenticed" to "masters" or "mistresses" and performed many of the same tasks the slaves had, under similar conditions: "fishing, wrecking, cutting wood, raking salt and agricultural and domestic tasks" (Johnson 1991:20). As Howard Johnson argued, a proto-peasantry emerged in The Bahamas in the late 18th century. Liberated Africans formed the nucleus of the peasantry that developed during slavery. They also were a part of the free Black community, enjoying some independence and "a measure of prosperity" (Johnson 1991:24).

Although many lived in the town of Nassau, there were in the 1830s at least eight free Black villages or settlements elsewhere. For at least a hun-



While the construction of shipping vessels has declined in The Bahamas, the popularity of regattas sustains the demand for racing boats. Abaco is well known for its boatbuilding industry. Photo courtesy Department of Archives, The Bahamas

dred years after Emancipation these villages retained strong African characteristics and an identity of their own.

African Bahamians learned to fend for themselves after Emancipation. They were able to survive in a depressed economy which offered few opportunities for wage labor (Johnson 1991:185) by thrifty habits and through the custom of the *asue*. A system of financing with roots in West Africa (Eneas 1976:17), the *asue* is still popular in the contemporary Bahamas. Ex-slaves and liberated Africans also formed Friendly Societies to provide "by mutual assistance, for periods of sickness, old age and burial expenses" (Johnson 1991:183). "While the early friendly societies in the Bahamas were based on English antecedents," the organizations "reflect African cultural values" and resembled associations and secret societies of the Efik and Igbo peoples of West Africa (Johnson 1991:184). Until the latter part of the 19th century, these Friendly Societies operated as pressure groups on the White power structure as well. Other affiliated societies providing for the physical welfare of their members and mobilizing the Black community on political issues became more popular in the 20th century; these

were linked to organizations in Britain and the United States. Both the Friendly Societies and affiliated lodges are still important in the lives of many Bahamians.

Liberated Africans also gave added vigor to other cultural forms and practices with African roots. These included John Canoe (Junkanoo) (see Keith Wisdom's article) and dances such as the Jumping Dance, Ring Play, and (to a lesser extent) the Fire Dance. Goombay or rake and scrape music, although Bahamian, contains strong African influences (see Kayla Edwards's article). Clement Bethel believes that much of the music found in The Bahamas today, especially in Cat Island and Andros, contained a spiritual quality derived from the songs of the ante-bellum slaves from the American mainland (Bethel 1978:91). Death rites, which originated in Africa, evolved into the custom of holding a wake. African influence on the foods eaten and the methods and types of cooking is manifest.

"Bush" medicine, the use of local medicinal plants (see Tracey Thompson's article), is utilized in the practice of *obeah*, a Caribbean phenomenon that almost certainly originated in Africa and that persists today, even if more privately. *Obeah* is based on the belief that all good and evil, illnesses and cures, result from spirits, sorcery, or magic.

Marketing, as it had in Africa, played a significant part in the lives of Black Bahamians. Inheriting traditions from their slave and African forbears,

African Bahamian populations traditionally grew much produce in their own garden plots and sold it either from door to door or at small homemade stalls in the streets, often in front of the houses. Most of the vendors were women and, according to Cleveland Eneas, nearly all were of Yoruba descent. The Nassau Market, in existence since the early 1800s, was the central node of local commerce.

For some years, even until the early 20th century, many African Bahamians kept their native languages alive. Most Blacks, however, spoke Bahamian Creole, a syncretic dialect which resembled the Black English spoken on the U.S. mainland in the 18th century. Shilling and Holm argue that the slaves of the American Loyalists preserved American Plantation Creole of the 18th century. Standard English is the country's official language, but many Bahamians of all colors and classes still speak varieties of English (Holm and Shilling 1980: iii-vii).

LATER MIGRATIONS

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, demands for labor encouraged the immigration of significant groups of "trading minorities" (Johnson 1991:125-48) including Chinese, Greek, Lebanese, and skilled laborers from the West Indies. The first Greeks who arrived in the late 19th century engaged in the sponge trade, and by 1925 the Greek community "was firmly established in the Bahamas" (Johnson 1991:130). The Lebanese, who also arrived in the late 19th century, were peddlers and later successful shopkeepers. A small number of Jews also began retail businesses. Chinese immigrants established restaurants, although many worked in other capacities. The descendants of the original immigrants have branched out into professional areas such as law, medicine, and architecture, and some are still engaged in lucrative businesses.

In the 1920s, the "immigrant groups occupied an intermediate position in Bahamian society" (Johnson 1991:136). At least until the 1950s they were seen as a threat to the local mercantile elite and remained on the margins of society. Although there are distinct Greek, Lebanese, and Chinese communities in The Bahamas today, some members of these groups have intermarried with other Bahamians. West Indian laborers migrated to The Bahamas, many via Cuba, during the prosperous Prohibition years. Better educated than local Creoles, these immigrants and their descendants later played a large role in sensitizing Bahamians to political movements in the Caribbean.

By far the largest minority in The Bahamas are the Haitians. They began migrating in the 1950s because of sociopolitical unrest and economic hardships in Haiti; as conditions in Haiti have deteriorated in recent years, the number of Haitians landing in The Bahamas, many of them illegally, has increased. Most Haitian men work in gardening and farming, and many Haitian women work as housekeepers and cooks, although quite a few have set up small retail businesses, following the African custom. Numerous Haitians also are employed in the Royal Bahamas Police Force and the Defence Force; others are lawyers and teachers.

There is friction between the Creole Bahamian and Haitian populations, arising from Bahamians' resentment of the competition by Haitian women in retail trade, and the demands that Haitians put on health services and the educational system.

Many children born of Haitian parents have become Bahamianized to a large extent. More research is needed, but, although they usually live in all-Haitian communities, it seems that some Haitians desire to distance themselves from their Haitian roots and culture. Some have converted from Roman Catholicism to Baptist and other non-conformist denominations.

CONCLUSION

The society of The Bahamas has been mostly influenced by Africa and Britain and more recently by America and the Caribbean. As Winston Saunders wrote in 1989:

Culture in The Bahamas today is an amalgam of our British heritage, our African heritage and the effects of our closeness to North America. Our language is English, our Parliament follows the judicial procedure set down in England.... Our courts follow the English system.... Marry the above with the practice of obeah, the girating movements of the ring-play, the pulsating rhythm of Junkanoo and the goat-skin drum, the hand-clapping jumpers, the use of bush medicine, the songs and the drinking of a wake and the consequent outpouring of public grief at the death of a loved one, our African-inspired neighbourhood banking system called asue, and you almost have a Bahamian. The final touches comes in the form of the American Jerri curl, the American Afro, American television, American and Japanese technology, the American system of higher education and its graduate degrees, hamburgers and hot dogs,

coca cola, the Chevrolet...the satellite dish. Frivolous though some of these things may seem, they fuse to form a representative catalogue of our cultural heritage and the patterns that dictate our reaction to any given situation (W. Saunders 1989:243).

Indeed, despite the powerful influence of North America, The Bahamas continues to forge a cultural identity of its own.

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D. Gail Saunders heads the Department of Archives in The Bahamas and is Bahamian curator for the Smithsonian-Bahamas program. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

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Bahamas Musical Survey



Killer's rake and scrape band, which includes vocals and electric guitar, performs at Day Shell's, Nicholl's Town, North Andros.

Photo by Grace Turner

by Kayla Olubummi Lockhart Edwards

The Bahamas could be described truly as the islands where stories are more often sung than spoken – “islands of song.” For hundreds of years along this scattered island chain, the human voice has been raised in melodious strains of joy and sadness to a rhythmic pulse that is deeply influenced by its populace’s African ancestry. Even Bahamians’ spoken dialect has a particular melodic ring.

The absolute wealth of raw musical talent that exists in almost every island, and the ease with which rich three- and four-part harmonies flow, are remarkable. For example, while conducting research on Cat Island in preparation for the Festival, a group of farmers waiting for a business meeting to begin were asked to sing a typical anthem. Without hesitation, two of the ladies raised a rousing song, and 92-year-old Mr. Donald Newbold became the featured bass with a voice of honeyed thunder that left us in total amazement at the depth of his vocal range and richness.

Greatly influenced by hundreds of years of colonial domination as well as by American culture, Bahamian sacred music is by far the islands’ most

outstanding cultural expression. Anthems are religious hymns that closely resemble the American ante-bellum slave songs brought to The Bahamas during the Loyalist period. Favorite characters in anthems are Moses, Noah, and Elijah from the Old Testament, and King Jesus, King Peter, and Mary Magdalene; the anti-hero is inevitably Satan. The most common themes are faith, optimism, patience, weariness, and fighting. An example of an anthem is “Do You Live By Prayer?”

*Do you live by prayer?
Do you live by prayer?
O yes, I do live by prayer.*

*Remember me,
Remember me,
O yes, remember me.*

*Have you passed here before?
Have you passed here before?
O yes, I have passed here before.*

*I'll bid farewell
To every fear
An' wipe my weepin' eyes.*



Dicey Doh sings in tight three- and four-part harmonies, and continues the tradition of the Bethel Baptist Church singers, whose members included parents of today's Dicey Doh.
Photo by Joan Wolbier

*Then I can smile
At Satan's rage
To see a burnin' world.*

Rhyming songs (spiritual and secular) present an animated storyteller with back-up chorus. The rhymer tells the story – sad, happy, provocative – in verse after rhythmic verse, with the chorus echoing basically the same refrain after each verse and usually singing in three-part harmony. It is not unusual for rhyming songs to have up to 10 or 12 verses; many times the rhymer will spontaneously create verses as he or she goes along. The texts are often based on biblical themes, fantasies, or real-life happenings. "Run, Come See Jerusalem," for instance, recounts the sinking of three small boats off the coast of Andros Island during the 1929 hurricane.

"Run, Come See Jerusalem"

*It was nineteen hundred and twenty-nine.
Run come see, run come see -
It was nineteen hundred and twenty-nine.
Run, come see Jerusalem.*

Now John Brown, he was the captain.

*Run come see, run come see -
Now John Brown, he was the captain.
Run, come see Jerusalem.*

*Now it was de Ethel, Myrtle, and Praetoria.
Run come see, run come see -
It was de Ethel, Myrtle, and Praetoria.
Run, come see Jerusalem.*

*O de big sea build up in the northwest.
Run come see, run come see -
O de big sea build up in the northwest.
Run, come see Jerusalem.*

*When the first sea hit the Praetoria,
Run come see, run come see -
When the first sea hit the Praetoria,
Run, come see Jerusalem -*

*Now there was thirty-three lost souls on the ocean.
Run come see, run come see -
Yes, there was thirty-three poor lost souls on the
ocean.
Run, come see Jerusalem.*

It is now common to hear contemporary African-American gospel and European classical harmonies

emanating from the churches of the myriad religious denominations to be found throughout the Commonwealth. In about 90 percent of these denominations, regardless of what their founders intended, the congregational singing is accompanied by hand clapping, rhythmic percussion, and spiritual dancing as well as spirit possession. In Baptist, Church of God (called Jumper Church), and other Pentecostal services, possession usually occurs during the singing and clapping section of the service, although it also could happen during the praying and preaching periods. Religious relics of West African worship style, both hand clapping and spirit possession – the supreme African religious experience – have been incorporated into the European Christian religious practice. Although dancing is not allowed in the Baptist and Jumper churches, a remarkable degree of rhythmic bodily movement called “Rushin’” is most commonly indulged in during the singing of the anthems and spiritual songs.

Secular music in The Bahamas historically has been called Goombay music. In the Ring Dance, Jumpin’ and Firedance, types of West African fertility dances, the participants would form a circle with one dancer in the center. The players would begin to clap with their hands and the drummer would call out “Gimbey,” a corruption of the West African word *gumbay*, or large drum, to begin the song or chanting. Bahamian secular music relies on the goatskin drum to create its rhythmic base.

Stories of everyday occurrences become popular songs telling of lovers’ infidelity, the Bahamian female’s many wiles and schemes, and the beauty of the environment. They often contain proverbial instruction, e.g., “Never interfere with man and wife, never understand/No matter who is wrong or who is right Hoih!/Jus’ offer sympathy.”

These same songs are played instrumentally by rake and scrape bands. The rake and scrape band hails back to the 1800s, when the Africans who were brought to The Bahamas sought to make music on whatever was available to them. The carpenter’s saw was a tool used daily, pork barrels made a suitable keg over which to stretch the skin of a goat or sheep to make a drum, and the accordion might have been a gift from their colonial

Kayla Olubumni Lockhart Edwards is the Deputy Director at the Ministry of Youth and Culture as well as a singer, dancer, storyteller, and director of musical productions.

masters; the music makers combined these three instruments. The music of the rake and scrape band is traditionally used to accompany the Bahamian Quadrille and the Heel and Toe Polka dances, all relics of the initial mixture of Africa and Europe. Although these bands may now be composed of modern electronic instruments, they seek to retain the original “rake and scrape” flavor.

Traditional children’s ringplay games have accompanying “ditties” which are found throughout the Caribbean.

“Blue Hill Water Dry”

*Bluc hill water dry
No where to wash my clothes*

*I remember the Saturday night
Boil fish and johnny cake*

*Centipe knock tuh nuh door last night
Take him for Johnny, slam him BAM!*

Ceremonial songs like “Soley Married” (*Soley married, Soley married, come here let me tell you gal/Soley married/She married Walter, Walter Ferguson, come here let me tell you gal, Soley married*) are still sung at weddings in New Providence and the Family Islands. The name of the girl being married at the time can be substituted for Soley. It is also not uncommon for the welcome and introduction of the chairperson for an evening’s concert to be sung instead of spoken.

Music in The Bahamas is changing. Pan-Caribbean reggae, soca, and salsa are heard in clubs and hotels. American pop and world music are widely recognized. And yet, the song and music of the people, that which conjures up the soul of The Bahamas at home, in worship, at work and in play, and in celebration, endures.

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Straw Work: A Case Study of Continuity & Change



by Kim Outten & Grace Turner

The more things change, the more they remain the same." This saying very much applies to straw work in The Bahamas. Ever since the arrival in the islands of enslaved Africans, straw articles have been made – and with the same raw materials, in the same weaving style, and basically put to the same uses. The changes that have occurred mainly have affected the products created – traditional styles are now used for modern items, for example – and the way they are sold. Straw work in The Bahamas has woven its way from its origins to incorporate the techniques of the Black Seminoles of Red Bays, Andros, and European-Bahamian influences from people like Ivy Simms of Long Island, Bahamas. All have come together to create what is a uniquely Bahamian craft.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Evidence of the sources and practice of straw work in The Bahamas comes from plantation statistics, historical documents, archaeological research, and surviving traditional weaving styles.

"Scrap Iron" Colebrooke displays one of his enormous straw mats. "Scrap Iron" lives in Red Bays, Andros, the only Bahamian settlement of the descendants of Black Seminoles, who escaped to The Bahamas during the Seminole Wars in Florida. Photo by Kim Outten

Many of the African slaves in The Bahamas came from the Carolinas with their Loyalist masters during the period 1783–89. According to Leland Ferguson (1992), crafts of the slave population of the Carolinas included basketry and coiled fanners (fanners are round, shallow baskets Africans still use to "riddle" or clean and separate whole or ground grains). These kinds of straw work persist not only in The Bahamas but in South Carolina and the Gullah Islands, notably St. Helena Island, as well.

One contemporary coiled weaving style has been traced to the arrival of the Black Seminoles, who settled in Red Bays, Andros, between 1817 and 1821. The style of knot work found at Current Island, Eleuthera, and in southern Long Island was brought by African settlers.

Marketing of straw work began early as well, with the wife of George Phenny, governor of The Bahamas from 1721 to 1728, involved in the wholesale export of straw goods from Nassau to Bermuda. The earliest tourists to The Bahamas were interested in straw work: an 1860s issue of Frank Leslie's *London Illustrated News* shows the portico of the Royal Victoria Hotel in Nassau, where local vendors were selling straw work and other wares to guests.

WORKING RAW MATERIALS INTO STRAW GOODS

Throughout The Bahamas the raw materials used in all types of straw crafts are palm leaves and sisal. The palms include the silver top, the pond top or sabal palmetto, and the coconut palm, popular in southern Andros. Straw from the pond top, because it is not very durable, is used for soft hats, linings, and larger, hamper-type domestic baskets rather than by the commercial straw industry. Silk sisal grows wild in The Bahamas; a commercial variety used today was introduced from the Yucatan in 1845. Each of these plants is processed in a different way, but when their leaves are dried and stripped, they are ready for weaving or plaiting into fathoms. (A fathom, still used as a measurement

because of its practicality, is simply the distance between both outstretched arms).

Plaiting has been the foundation of the straw industry in The Bahamas. The plaiter weaves the straw most commonly using from three to 15 strings, but in any event always an uneven number. The plait is sold in balls, in lengths of 12 to 15 fathoms. An average ball of 11-string plait can be sold in Nassau or Freeport for \$10.

Plaiting is done throughout The Bahamas, but especially on Long Island, Cat Island, Eleuthera, Exuma, and Ragged Island, where it remains a major source of income for many of the women. It has always been an "equal-opportunity" occupation in Bahamian communities, though, and some men continue to plait, particularly where the demand is great.

A division of labor between the plaiter and the basketmaker has endured since the days of slavery. A plaiter may only plait, but a basketmaker, in addition to plaiting, may use any of the basic techniques – stitching the plait, knot work, or coiling – to produce finished products. Still very much in use throughout The Bahamas are utilitarian straw craft items, which are generally not decorated. They include field baskets, horse baskets, knapsacks, goat rope, kitchen floor mats, and fans for riddling (winnowing) grits and cleaning pigeon peas. The straw is tightly woven, and the articles are hand stitched using the silver top as thread for durability. These utilitarian straw goods are now also in vogue with the "back-to-nature" crowd.

Decorative straw work for a tourist market has retained much of its original form and also incorporated plaiting styles that have evolved from the utilitarian mode: for example, the lace used around the rim of field hats now adorns clutch bags and sisal hats. The older styles of raffia work and straw weaves – called peas and rice, centipede, pearl, Jacob's ladder, shingles, hole-in-the-wall, and pineapple – are very prevalent today as well.

Hundreds of people throughout the Family Islands make a steady income from locally made straw items. A range of styles and techniques has developed on various islands, many of them making outstanding new uses of traditional household articles.

Straw crafts people of Andros use the fanner weaving technique almost exclusively. Although the islanders are no longer dependent on the small-scale farming that requires the use of fanner baskets, the fanner remains as a household decorator

item. Baskets and mats of all shapes and sizes are woven using the fanner technique.

The north and central parts of Andros have generated different styles. The north Andros style is dominated by Red Bays, where straw work is displayed everywhere, on porches, along the roadside, and even hanging in trees. Old "Scrap Iron" Colebrooke still coils hampers large enough to hold a man and tight enough to hold water, while young Peggy



A worker in Ivy Simms's straw factory in Long Island sews together strips of plait, circa 1950-60. Miss Simms, a European Bahamian, was able to combine African Bahamian plaiting techniques with her handbag patterns. Photo courtesy Department of Archives, The Bahamas

Colebrooke uses raffia to neatly decorate her baskets.

In the north the straw is peeled (separated) and only the soft, outer layer is used to wrap the coils. The straw is sewn tightly with a heavy-duty, stainless-steel needle. In central Andros, however, the straw is not peeled, and any narrow metal object (such as an ice pick) can serve as a needle. That is why the central Andros baskets, although also made in the fanner weave, look quite different.

The straw style that Long Island has become best known for uses decorative straw plait in a new way. Named the Ivy Simms style for the Euro-Bahamian seamstress who patterned it in the 1940s, it is used mainly for handbags, place mats, and other souvenir items.

Miss Simms, now 81, began using decorative plait to make handbags in creative new patterns she

designed and hired local women to sew. Decorative plait, always in the repertoire of Bahamian plaiters, was traditionally used only on hats. Miss Simms began using the local plain straw plait as a base onto which the delicate, open-weave, decorative plait were stitched.

A number of Miss Simms's former workers have opened their own businesses. Mrs. Lula Pratt, one of Miss Simms's first workers, won the first-prize blue ribbon at the 1988 Commonwealth Fair. Mrs. Elsie Knowles, also of Long Island, is an instructor at the Industrial Training Center in Nassau.

Another outstanding straw design is a knotted, open-weave pattern used for shoulder bags, covered picnic baskets, and hats. Variations of this style are seen from island to island, but the community best known for this weaving technique is tiny Current Island off north Eleuthera. Current Island products are sold throughout Eleuthera; some are also sent to the straw markets in Nassau and Freeport. The workers suffered a setback in 1993 when Hurricane Andrew destroyed the palm trees which produce the straw.

CHALLENGES TO STRAW CRAFTS TODAY

The accelerated development of the Bahamian tourism industry over the past 40 years has posed challenges to the country's straw-work industry.

Over 500 vendors rent stalls in the Nassau straw market alone; many others operate in Freeport. With so many vendors and tourists to serve, the supply of straw plait from the Family Islands became insufficient. A contributing factor was the substantial number of people who left the Family Islands to become straw vendors in Nassau and Freeport. Although they all know how to plait, as well as stitch bags and decorate them with raffia and shells, they turned their attention to selling instead. To fill the gap between supply and demand, vendors began importing more and more Asian straw goods from Florida. Vendors would join an *asuc* (an

Kim Outten is a museologist at the Pompey Museum of Slavery and Emancipation at Vendue House in Nassau. She has an M.A. in museum studies from University of London and an M.A. in African studies from the State University of New York in Albany.

Grace Turner is Curator at the Pompey Museum of Slavery and Emancipation at Vendue House in Nassau. She has an M.A. in anthropology from Rutgers University and an M.A. in history and museum studies from Ohio State University.

African borrowing system) to enable them to buy thousands of dollars' worth of merchandise from Florida wholesalers. Some vendors decorate foreign goods with raffia to "Bahamianize" them.

In their hustle for the tourist dollar, vendors have had to rely more heavily on their marketing than on their production skills. The only stage of production usually seen in the market is the final one, the decoration with raffia. Nevertheless, with the need to be creative and adapt to changing trends and styles, straw vendors are never short of new ideas. Mr. George Huyler, who became involved in straw work when his wife stopped to have each of their five children, now incorporates leatherette on his straw bags. Figures on bags are often dressed in colorful outfits of Androsia (a Bahamian batik) or African print fabrics. For a more three-dimensional look, miniature hats and slippers are also sometimes added!

CONCLUSION

The most encouraging result of the popularity of Bahamian straw work among foreign visitors is that Bahamians have begun to show a greater appreciation for this long-standing local tradition. In many instances Bahamian straw work had been cast aside as not being "refined" enough; it also was too much of a reminder of harsh economic times, when there were no alternatives to articles made of straw. However, after seeing our straw products in a fresh, new light, more and more Bahamians are coming to accept their true value. Mrs. Olga Major, who does knotted straw work at home in Long Island, receives work orders through her children who live in Nassau. Mrs. Lula Pratt was commissioned to provide briefcases for all the inspectors of the country's National Insurance Board. Meanwhile, the straw workers at Red Bays, Andros, are constantly bartering with the residents of the United States' Autec (Atlantic Underwater Testing and Evaluation Center) base on that island for their craft.

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Shootin' Pigeon & Ducks and Wild Hog Huntin': Traditional Lifestyles on Land & Sea



by Tracey Thompson

But for the cover, in the northern islands, of pine trees and, in the southern islands, of hardwood coppice and thorny bushes and cacti and wiry grasses, large areas of The Bahamas would be stony desert. Hard work, resourcefulness, and self-reliance mark the ways in which Bahamians traditionally have fed and sheltered themselves on this Land of Rocks.

FARMING & FOODWAYS

People on Mayaguana speak with quiet pride about how anything can grow there. As in the rest of the arc of islands, with cutlass and hoe and planting stick people cut down scrub bush, set fire to the fallen bush to singe it, pulled up the burned stumps, and, when rain came, planted, weeded, and reaped fields of Indian corn and guinea corn, bananas, pigeon peas, cane, pumpkin, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, tomatoes, cabbages, onions, carrots, beets, and other crops, and then moved on to cut fresh fields after the soil tired. Some kept chick-

After making a hole in the shell, fishermen extract conch meat in one piece. The sea offers a bountiful supply of fish and seafood, which Bahamians depend on for food and economic survival.

Photo by Grace Turner

ens or goats or pigs penned or tethered in the yard, or knifed or shot wild hog or wild cows in the bush, or shot pigeon or duck. They dove for conch, and used homemade cotton nets or cotton lines to catch fish and turtles, too, and crabs which scampered everywhere. Some of their field produce and conchs and fish they exported to Nassau, buying in exchange goods such as flour, rice, detergent, and clothes. The other produce they kept, to use as seed for the next planting, to feed to livestock, and to eat. Over the fire fed with dry wood they roasted corn and baked bread and boiled crabs. To preserve fish and meat they "corned" it: sliced the flesh and salted it thoroughly, then hung it in the sun to dry. They dried their conch, unsalted, in the same way, again for eating on another day.

HARD TIMES

I heard a joke repeated in Inagua: that the mosquitoes were so large you heard their bones crack if you smashed them. There as elsewhere, mosquitoes hatched after each rainfall, complicating the hard, harsh work of clearing and cultivating difficult land by hand. People took "smoke pots" – ceramic or metal pots holding burning coconut or green leaves whose smoke dispersed the mosquitoes – when they went to work in the fields. And thrushes and blackbirds offered a greater challenge, and worms, too, all eating the corn. Often enough the volume of produce harvested from the fields ran out before the next year's crop was ready to be reaped. In especially meager periods between the annual harvests, or if the crop failed for lack of rain, people would go in the bush and catch crabs and eat the hearts of palm trees and go onto the water to catch fish and collect conch, waiting for the mailboat to

Amidst limestone rock, Isaac Dean farmed his fields in Cat Island for over 70 years. The pieces of wood, or "burned bush," sticking out of the ground identify a field that has been cleared using the slash-and-burn technique.

Photo by Grace Turner



bring supplies from Nassau. Worst was when storms and hurricanes came, catching people off guard in an era before advance weather warnings, on land breaking down houses and blasting and flooding fields, at sea drowning parents or children as they fished or tutored or sponged in wooden sailboats or dinghies offshore or carried cargo from island to island.

Those "hard times" live on in the shared imagination of islanders. Blackfoot Rock is a point which juts out into the sea not far from the settlement of North Victoria Hill in San Salvador. Marcia Kemp, a 40-year inhabitant of that settlement, suggested how deeply etched an impression the poverty of material resources left on that community.

In those days as a child growing up in North Victoria Hill . . . when you [would] have your meals or anything they would say not to waste it. You cannot waste your food, because, you know, "You children don't know what hard time is. Hard time is gonna come again." And they would say this so often, as a child I thought hard time was someone who was coming. He had visited before, so . . . you were to expect hard time to come again. And in my mind's eye I used to see him coming around Blackfoot Rock.

RESOURCEFULNESS, SELF-RELIANCE & VERSATILITY

Medical science offers an example of how resourceful and self-reliant islanders were. Men and women alike had extensive knowledge of the curative qualities of plant and marine life which were readily to

be found on the land or offshore. Fever bush. Cough bush. Midwife bush. Catnip for worms. Pond bush for diabetes. Almond loaf tea for high blood pressure. Spoonwood and guava for gripe. Guinea hen bush for headache. Tamarind leaf for the eyes. And the versatility of island women and men aged, let us say, over 50 is striking. Trained in upholstery, engine repair, and navigation, and formerly involved in the furniture and dry cleaning businesses, today Leon Turnquest of Inagua does masonry and carpentry and plumbing, manages his own hotel, and occasionally fishes, farms, and hunts. Over the years Samuel Collie of Mayaguana built boats, sailed, fished, farmed, practiced masonry and carpentry, crafted spare parts for his truck, built his home, made dolls, model planes, and model boats, and concocted "bush" medicines. Such versatility comes as no surprise. Islanders had no choice but to take care of themselves. Cash was rare. Field and marine produce sold to Nassau brought so little in exchange. Steady paid labor was hard to come by outside Nassau. So purchasing the services of specialized tradesmen, even were those services readily to be found on the island, was not feasible.

LABOR MIGRATION & SHRINKING COMMUNITIES

Over the years the harshness of living on land and sea using traditional technologies and the scantness of opportunities for education and wage labor have helped to push islanders from their homes in pursuit of schooling and work in Nassau or in Freeport or in rural communities where projects of varying duration – manufacturing salt in Inagua, or build-

ing military facilities on several of the islands, for example – have offered permanent or short-term employment. Islanders have left in large numbers as well for the United States. Since World War II “The Contract” or “The Project” has been a major conduit of Bahamians to the mainland. An arrangement created in 1943 between the governments of the United States and The Bahamas, the “Contract” program enabled thousands of Bahamians to work on farms or in farm-related industries located across the United States. Some of them came home. Many others never did.

The marks of short- and long-term emigration stand out on the landscapes of some island communities and appear in the stories of their inhabitants. Consider Inagua. That island today has one settlement: Matthew Town. An old map – printed when, I cannot say – shows place names ringing the island. Dog Head Bluff. Lantern Head. Mount Misery. Minott Tent. Oree Bay. Northeast Point. I learned that some of those communities had once had year-round residents. In others, like Northeast Point, people had farmed for several weeks or months each year but had based themselves in Matthew Town. Today no one farms there. The other communities, as far as I could learn, have died. Consider Mayaguana. Horsepond, one of the island's four settlements, lost its last inhabitant over 30 years ago, and the remaining three settlements have shrunk. Mary Black, born 1918 in Pirate's Well, says that when she was a girl a lot of people lived in the settlement, and by comparison no one lives there today, the old people having died out and the young people having left home. Consider San Salvador. George Storr, 80 years old, and his wife Viola, 75, are what remain of the settlement of Pigeon Creek. Thomas Hanna, an elderly gentleman, and James Rolle, 87 years old, are what remain of Fortune Hill. Bernie Storr, 54 years old, his mother, and his family are what remain of Polly Hill.

Tracey Thompson heads the Oral History Department of the Library of the College of The Bahamas. She produced a multi-media presentation on “The Contract,” a temporary labor migration program under which Bahamian men and women worked on farms and in agricultural industries in the United States between 1943 and 1965. For the Smithsonian-Bahamas project, she interviewed 50 Bahamians in January 1994.

VULNERABLE TECHNOLOGIES

Bahamians seem to be returning to the islands. In San Salvador, with the construction and, since 1990, operation of a Club Med resort, the population has nearly doubled. Mayaguana's Abraham's Bay, having shrunk, is, so residents say, now growing; and major development scheduled to begin on the island soon is likely to draw others home. But I think the immigrants unlikely to utilize traditional technologies fully. Throughout the archipelago, imported technologies and material prosperity have created the possibility of living on the island again without having to do the hard and time-consuming manual work entailed in traditional living. So from stone, lime, and leaf thatch to concrete block, cement, and shingle; from outside kitchen and fire hearth to indoor kitchen and gas stove; from corning to freezing fish and meat; from throwing ashes from the fire hearth on worms to spraying fields with pesticide; from smoke pots to cans of Off; from hand mills to communal mills for grinding corn; from lighting torchwood to lighting kerosene lamps to turning on generators; from hauling well water in buckets to water mains; from cutting wood to buying diesel fuel; from crocus-bag and flour-bag clothes and bare feet to modern wardrobes; from homemade grass mattresses to store-bought ones; from hand tools to power saws and electric drills: island lifestyles are undergoing rapid, if geographically uneven, transformation. That genius for utilizing the resources given by land and sea, if it will survive an international market economy, will need conscientious conservation with all deliberate speed.

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Ecstasy in Junkanoo, A Public Celebration of Freedom

by Keith G. Wisdom

Bahamian Junkanoo is an individual and community celebration of freedom. The origins of the parade are shrouded in mystery. Though there is little doubt that they are West African, their meaning has been transformed by successive generations to bring fresh significance to the festival. The name “Junkanoo” itself suggests connections with Jamaican Jonkonnu and similar festivals throughout the New World.

Bahamian Junkanoo is now a national parade. Held from 2:00 - 8:00 a.m. on December 26th and January 1st, the Junkanoo parade is a judged event with three main prize categories: best music, best costume, and best overall group presentation. Today's Junkanoo presentations are organized around particular themes, which are expressed in coordinated costumes, music, and dance, the three main artistic elements of Bahamian Junkanoo. Junkanoo participants in today's Junkanoo parade (drummers, cowbell ringers, horn players, dancers, designers, and builders) continually re-create and develop these basic elements. Not all Junkanoo participants are organized or serious about prize money, however, and many simply want to be seen. Nevertheless, they all, practitioners and spectators alike, have a Junkanoo experience, including in many cases moments of ecstasy.

The practitioners and spectators of contemporary Bahamian Junkanoo represent a broad cross section of the Bahamian population, to which is added a small percentage of visitors, since the Junkanoo event occurs during the Bahamian winter tourist season. Elements of Junkanoo are also presented outside of The Bahamas, as cultural performances. Junkanoo comes to the world stage this summer, with presentations and demonstrations and a gigantic Junkanoo Rush-Out as part of the Festival on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., on the Fourth of July. This project has been wholeheartedly supported by the Honorable Brent Symonette, Minister of Tourism,

who recognizes the vast potential of this art form.

Although Junkanoo is practiced in the islands of New Providence, Grand Bahama, Eleuthera, Bimini, and Abaco, the most organized and vibrant exhibitions of this performance art are seen in New Providence and Grand Bahama. New Providence Junkanoo, the best example of modern Bahamian Junkanoo, is the focus of this article.

JUNKANOO TIME

“Junkanoo time” in The Bahamas is an almost magical time at the year's end that exemplifies the spirit of Christmas, the idea that anything is possible. Junkanoo is also a time when the individual is free from a number of institutional, personal, and family obligations. A Bahamian form of organized play, in which new symbolic worlds are generated, Junkanoo exists “out of” and in contrast to “normal” time.

JUNKANOO PRACTITIONERS

Bahamian Junkanoo today involves some 15 adult groups representing roughly every area in New Providence and Grand Bahama. Unlike in times past, group members do not have to live in or belong in some way to the area being represented, although most group members do have some kind of relationship with their represented area. The major or “super” groups in Junkanoo currently are the Saxons Superstars, the Valley Boys, the Roots, and the newly founded One Family. These groups have their base camps or “shacks” in various parts of New Providence or Grand Bahama and so are said to represent those areas. However, the major cohesive factor among members of these groups is rather a shared belief in each other and the collective attitude their assembled personal philosophies engender.

Alongside these organized groups are the “scrapers,” the other primary type of participants in Bahamian Junkanoo. Scrap groups are made up of individuals who are minimally costumed and are only on the parade route to “rush” (a Junkanoo



marching style) and have a good time. Scrappers are not interested in prize money, organization, or group thematic presentation. Today the Junkanoo scrapper represents the pre-1950s style of Junkanoo performance and attitude. Members of the major groups, on the other hand, represent the modern style of Junkanoo, whose complex and colorful paper costumes visually dominate the event. Both men and women participate in Junkanoo, although its administration and creation are totally male dominated.

THE JUNKANOO PARADE

The Junkanoo event has four distinct phases: Presentation, Judgement, Celebration (or last lap), and Transition. In the Presentation phase, major groups establish an intense performance pace, concentrating on the production of the group's own unique "Junkanoo beat," that is, repetitive, dominating notes of the Goombay drum. During the Judgement phase, which reaches its climax at daybreak, lead and dancer costumes are "displayed" – spun and raised up and down rhythmically – while the remainder of the group constantly reorganizes the space of the parade route through the execution of a number of previously rehearsed group marching configurations. Judges make their final choices during this period.

Winners are announced just after the Celebration phase. In this short phase, beginning around 7:30 a.m., groups and spectators alike have decided who they think the winners will be. The Celebration phase is marked by the energetic, almost frantic rushing pace that the major groups, and especially the presumed winners, adopt. This burst of energy also marks the beginning of the final phase, Tran-

Today Junkanoo costumes are made of cardboard and tissue paper. Each group has its own theme, which remains a secret until the day of the rush. Photo courtesy The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism

sition, which occurs shortly before the "official" end of the Junkanoo event. The energy level on the parade route drops drastically, and discarded costume pieces litter the entire Bay Street portion of the parade route. (The practice of leaving costumes on the parade route has been discouraged in recent years. A permanent museum, The Junkanoo Expo, was established in 1993 under the leadership of the Honorable Algernon S. B. P. Allen, Minister of Youth and Culture, to display and preserve these magnificent pieces close to the parade route.) Symbolically, this phase represents the transition of the entire Junkanoo setting from metaphor and liminality to its normal status as commercial banking and shopping district.

JUNKANOO COSTUMES

The costumes of major Junkanoo groups have continued to grow in size and complexity. In some instances costume designers begin preparations seven to 12 months in advance. Groups strive for originality and excellence in the presentation of a theme to be carried out, in various levels of detail, by all members of the group. Costume construction takes place mainly in high-ceilinged enclosures, the shacks which serve as the groups' base camps. The interior of the shacks are open, dry, and can be locked or partitioned off, as organized groups prefer that their costume designs be seen only on parade days.



Above: Junkanoo costumes reflected the successful sponge industry of the early 20th century. When a blight ended the sponge supply in 1940, shredded paper became the main material of Junkanoo costumes. Right: A Junkanoo reveler celebrates in Nassau, 1942. As the visual aspects of Junkanoo became increasingly important, shredded paper was soon replaced with more colorful tissue paper, and eventually, with the crepe paper that is used today.

Photos by Ira De A. Reid, courtesy Department of Archives, The Bahamas



JUNKANOO MUSIC

Junkanoo music is indispensable to the Junkanoo experience, fueling the event by stimulating participants and spectators alike. The basic beat and variety of rhythmic patterns in Junkanoo music remain very much the same as they have always been. However, the older practice of singing in Junkanoo has been replaced by chants, and melodic instruments such as the tuba, trumpet, saxophone, and trombone have been added to the traditional Junkanoo instruments (Goombay drum, cowbell, whistles, bicycle horns, conch shell, foghorn). These new instruments, which are played in tune with the traditional ones, are separated physically in the group marching formation.

JUNKANOO DANCE

In modern Bahamian Junkanoo, as well as in traditional Junkanoo, a number of movements are usually done one after another and, to the Junkanoo newcomer, may appear to be a kind of dance. What is called "Junkanoo dance" is not a dance form like ballet or modern jazz but is any quick, rhythmic movement that is consistently repeated to create a

noticeable pattern. The patterns consist of turns, spins, hops, skips, jumps, and lunges and are mostly performed by group leaders, group dancers, and linesmen who function as group marshals for major Junkanoo groups. Coordinated and choreographed contemporary dance steps are seen today in Junkanoo, but they were copied from Jr. Junkanoo groups.

Today, the best-known Junkanoo dancers are the leaders of the two principal Junkanoo groups, Percy "Vola" Francis of the Saxons Superstars and Winston "Gus" Cooper of the Valley Boys. Both of these individuals perform a recognizable set of movements during the Junkanoo parades each year, movements which outside of the Junkanoo context are quite meaningless. Such movements or steps can occur at any time and place during the parade march, and are seen as traditional or "natural" Junkanoo steps or movements. In contrast, the coordinated, choreographed dance steps must be performed only in predetermined sections of the group marching formation and at specific locations along the parade route.

Together, the parade's main artistic elements - cos-

tume design, music, and dance - create a "Theater of Junkanoo," whose dramatic impact motivates and influences many other Bahamian art forms.

THE ECSTATIC MOMENT

Both scrappers and members of major groups place a high value on the Junkanoo experience, and both undergo ecstatic moments, especially during the Judgement phase of the Junkanoo event.

The individual scrapper does not belong to any single group, and so his ecstatic moments occur only when he is a part of a loosely organized, transitory scrap gang that has established a fairly consistent group beat. Like the member of a major group, the scrapper experiences ecstatic moments created in large part by his "self-produced" Junkanoo beat.

The scrapper's ecstatic moments sometimes involve his interacting with spectators, but never with the members of a major group. While experiencing an ecstatic moment the scrapper relates directly to others, appearing to understand other scrappers and spectators in an empathetic rather than a sympathetic way. That is, Junkanoo scrappers appear not to "feel for" one another but rather to "feel together." The ecstatic moments of the scrapper seem to result from singularly group-related interactions which produce "communitas," a feeling of oneness within a community.

Communitas is achieved here via immersion in rhythmic activity, peculiar in that it can be strived for but cannot be precisely planned.

The ecstatic moments of the member of a major Junkanoo group differ from the scrapper's in three basic ways. First, group members describe their ecstatic moments as a more individual or personal experience which occurs in public; they are aware of the group and their duty and responsibility to it, yet feel connected via the gang to an experience (called being "in the beat") much greater than the group experience of the gang. Secondly, even though the major group member is aware of Junkanoo spectators and is very much affected by them, unless he is a group leader, he does not relate directly to them. Lastly, Junkanoo music for the major group member works more as a catalyst than a stimulus. His ecstatic moments seem very much like the experience that a number of anthropolo-

gists, for example Victor Turner and Jonathan Hill, characterize as "flow." Flow in this sense involves "pleasure" in subordination to ritual forms, a spontaneous and individual joy in expressing oneself through a loss of self in disciplined actions. In fact, it may be an almost addictive pleasure within disciplined performance communities.

The ecstatic moments that are achieved by the scrappers and the major group members symbolize two forms of freedom. The scrappers in modern Bahamian Junkanoo embody the freedom to spontaneously create an environment in which undisciplined play can occur. To the major group members, on the other hand, Junkanoo grants them the freedom to construct a complex, formal, disciplined celebration.

Ecstatic moments enrich the overall event experience of primary Junkanoo participants and add another dimension to the cultural inversion that occurs within the setting of the Junkanoo event. More importantly, perhaps, it is these ecstatic moments that make Junkanoo even more interesting for spectators; while they are going through their ecstatic moments, primary Junkanoo participants raise the intensity of their performance. The ecstatic power of Junkanoo creates a personal linkage between indigenous participants and spectators, and with the culture and history they themselves create.

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Keith G. Wisdom, a native of Nassau, Bahamas, received a B.S. from Mankato State University, Minnesota, and an M.F.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Georgia at Athens. He is a stage director and a TV producer specializing in cultural programming.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS: THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS NATIONAL HERITAGE FELLOWS



Our National Treasures: The Story This Far

"It matters not what nationality you are. You should be proud of your nationality, you should be proud of your region. I want to respect your culture, you respect my culture. And if we ever learn to do this, America is a beautiful country, but it would even be more beautiful. And we can do that. Some of us has some work to do, but I think we're all together. We're going to do it."

Dewey Balfa, Cajun Fiddler

by Bess Lomax Hawes

Back in 1977 it was what everybody thought the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts ought to do. The pictures of Japanese pots and painted screens and silks were so lovely, and the glimpses of the great Japanese craftworkers we got on video were so inspiring. And such a compelling name – the Japanese Living National Treasures – what a marvelous idea! Surely the first order of business for the newly created Folk Arts Program – now the Folk and Traditional Arts Program – would be to set up a Living National Treasures program to honor our own traditional artists.

But when I suggested this, not just the Folk Arts staffers but many of our well-qualified and experienced panelists seemed interested in the idea but also anxious, even apprehensive. "Well, maybe, but let's not go too fast . . ." And then I saw I, too, was dragging my feet and I didn't know exactly why.

This program is made possible with the collaboration of the National Endowment for the Arts Folk and Traditional Arts Program, and with support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.



Dewey Balfa was awarded a National Heritage Fellowship in 1982. Photo by Robert Yellin



I kept thinking up possible outcomes to worry about. Maybe the "right" artists would not be selected. Maybe those chosen would swagger; maybe those not chosen would turn spiteful. Maybe widespread public attention would irritate or endanger or antagonize artists. Maybe their marketing prices and performance fees would get hopelessly out of kilter. After several years of intense but nonproductive discussion, I began to wonder if the entire concept was simply wrong for the United States – perhaps it just didn't fit us well, culturally speaking.

An incident in 1975 kept coming back to me. Even when we think we know what is going on, cross-cultural meetings can be confusing. I was in East Los Angeles visiting a Chicano arts center when I happened to ask my hosts if they could recommend a really distinguished traditional *piñata* maker for the California presentation I was organizing for the 1975 Festival of American Folklife. Everyone looked a bit nonplussed. I didn't understand why but kept insisting they must know *somebody*, and finally a strikingly pretty young woman behind the desk said, "Well, sure, everybody knows how to make *piñatas*. I mean, even I know how to make *piñatas*; I just made a 12-foot tall one for a local park celebration." (I was to learn the young lady's name later. It was my first meeting with Alicia Gonzalez, who some 15 years afterwards was named director of the Smithsonian's commemoration of the Columbus Quincentenary.)

However, that evening in 1975, while thinking about the interchange on my way home, it occurred to me I probably had asked a question that was meaningless in her particular community. Translating the situation to my culture, suppose someone had asked *me* to recommend a really distinguished traditional Christmas-tree decorator. How on earth

The 1993 National Heritage Fellows pose for a photograph after receiving their award certificates at a special ceremony on Capitol Hill.

Photo by William K. Geiger

would I have fielded that one? I would have had to put on my folklorist's hat and explain tediously that there are indeed some art forms in some communities that are common cultural properties everybody "knows." But although almost everyone in a particular ethnic, religious, occupational, or regional group may know at least the rudiments of a particular art form (decorating a Christmas tree, making a *piñata*), everyone is not equally interested or practiced in it. Srta. Gonzalez clearly had the aesthetic experience, taste, and skills to create a 12-foot tall *piñata* for the local park celebration; and the local community clearly had the right person – their own local artist – to do the job.

The glory of the world of traditional arts is that there are thousands of Srta. Gonzalezes across the nation carrying on the artistic practices, styles, and repertoires derived from the collective histories of thousands of vigorous cultural groups. Most traditional arts are comfortably local; most traditional arts express the values and the identity of the group they emerge from; most traditional artists distinguish themselves not simply by having learned the art (everybody learns a bit of it) but by working at it with focus and passion.

But there are a vast number of such people doing a vast number of things. When it came to thinking about selecting a small, nationally acceptable group of such artists and art forms, as the Japanese did, even the most thoughtful and daring consultants began saying, "Put somebody else on the panel, Bess; I don't want to do it. I don't know enough,

and I wouldn't even know how to begin this thing, if indeed we ought to begin it."

There was another consideration as well, specific to the times. The 1970s were giving rise to some of the first attempts to celebrate local cultures since the glory days of the '30s, when the great archives of folk music were established, when the WPA began to assemble its influential state guides and to amass its corpus of historically crucial ex-slave interviews, when major record companies marketed blues and country music, and when CBS radio carried the voices of American folk singers and tale tellers into living rooms across the nation.

World War II and the bleak years of reaction that followed eliminated most of these yeasty activities for almost 30 years. During the '70s, though, the ground-breaking Newport Folk Festival was followed by the seminal Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife; agitation for the American Folklife Bill had reached its peak with the placing of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress; and the National Endowment for the Arts carried through its long-standing commitment to the folklore community by establishing a national Folk Arts Program, complete with staff and budget.

In every one of these federal programs, but most particularly in the newly founded NEA Folk Arts Program, some heavy-duty planning and strategizing were essential. What were the most urgent needs of this far-flung field? How, and in what order, should they be tackled? Not just in Washington, D.C., but in every state of the union and all the territories. Not just for musicians, but for crafts workers and dancers and storytellers. Not just for Appalachian Anglo-Scots-Irish but for every American Indian tribe, every European and Asian ethnicity, every segment of the African-American diaspora. Not just for Baptist menhaden fishermen off the Atlantic coast but for Buddhist sugar-cane cutters in the Pacific.

For the small Folk Arts Program to begin answering that mind-boggling assignment by annually selecting a few individuals as National Treasures seemed almost trivial, maybe even irrelevant. But – come to think of it – the Japanese must have faced similar difficulties. They were a highly industrialized nation, looming large on the world scene, and in many ways comparable to the United States, though geographically much smaller, of course. We took a closer look.

Relatively little has been published in English on the history of Japanese cultural planning. But enough is available to suggest that their truly original and fascinating program was not a sudden act of bureaucratic creativity or a response to a temporary political situation. Serious, protracted debates over



Lydia Mendoza is a Mexican-American singer from Houston, Texas. Photo by Carl Fleischhauer, courtesy Library of Congress, American Folklife Center

how to preserve and nurture Japanese traditional art forms have been part of public life in Japan for centuries, as evidenced by a nation-wide pastiche of local and regional regulations on such issues.

In 1950 an important event occurred: national legislation established the overarching principle that Japan, as a nation, possessed a number of Important Intangible Cultural Properties. These were defined as "intangible cultural products materialized through such human behaviors as drama, music, dance, and applied arts which have a high historical or artistic value." Because generations and generations of Japanese citizens had worried over and participated in local decisions about their culture and its art forms, this new legislation fell upon fertile soil. By 1983, 59 kinds of crafts alone had been listed as Important Intangible Cultural Properties, and 70 persons and 11 groups had been identified as Holders of the Properties.

Each Holder receives a Living National Treasure Award, accompanied by an annual stipend for life. In return the Holder pledges to continue practicing the art form for life, representing and advancing its highest standards through public demonstration and instruction. Holders willy-nilly become public figures; they are invited to judge contests and exhibitions, to host important visitors, to give expert testimony in legal disputes or before political commissions, and to concern themselves in every conceivable way with the continued well-being of their art form.

The Japanese government, for its part, purchases work from the Holders, documents the methods and



Tommy Jarrell of Mt. Airy, North Carolina, was an Appalachian fiddler of storied repertoire and technique. Photo by Lawrence Downing

techniques required for its production, funds appropriate exhibits and theatrical presentations, and provides grants to support the study and analysis of all recognized Intangible Cultural Properties. The government also maintains a registry of private as well as public owners of important pieces of Holders' work, thereby helping to ensure the permanent availability of these arts to the Japanese people.

This complex and highly visible program reflects the extensive thought devoted to questions of cultural preservation and cultural autonomy by Japanese artists, scholars, and citizens for at least a century. They have had good reason for the effort. The decline of feudalism and the removal of trade barriers in mid-19th century Japan have resulted in occasional outbreaks of a passion for modernization that has threatened to drown out distinctive art forms developed during Japan's centuries of relative isolation. The Living National Treasures system has proved to be a highly effective response to this imbalance, one that is certainly not confined to Japan. Could the United States do as well?

Not, we realized, by simply imitating the Japanese system, so elegantly crafted to fit Japanese history and customary thinking. In spite of some surface resemblances, there were enormous differences between the United States and Japan. The United States, in need of a labor force to match its land mass, had encouraged and even compelled immigration; Japan with its small land area had forbidden it for some centuries. The United States had always looked admiringly overseas to the airs and graces of Old World arts, believing its own pottery and fiddle tunes crude and inelegant; the artists of Japan, long protected from external competition, had refined and polished their arts into world-

renowned gems. In the United States, the authority of individual artists to shape their art forms was a primary value; the artist was almost always more important than the art. The Japanese, however, had identified certain arts as Intangible Cultural Properties before they turned their attention to the Holders – the artists themselves.

The Folk Arts Program began to try to develop a way of recognizing individual traditional artists that would work in the United States, that would fit comfortably with the feelings ordinary Americans have about art and artists. Some of our principles were the same as those of the Japanese; some were almost polar opposites. Like the Japanese, we made the awards multidisciplinary, including music, dance, handwork, storytelling, and theater. Unlike them in our myriad immigrant populations, we would include many artists rather than an elegant few, and all the distinctive regional or ethnic styles of each art form. To use the omnipresent American traditions of fiddling and quilting as examples, we did not confine ourselves to a single most popular or well-known aesthetic style but included outstanding artists who exemplified Appalachian, Hawaiian, Down-East, Cajun, Alaskan, Irish, African-American, and Cape Breton aesthetics amongst perhaps a hundred others.

We made it a one-time monetary award, rather than lifetime support. We weren't sure we could recognize which artists would keep on keeping on for the rest of their lives, or which ones would even want to. This part of the Japanese system had a genuinely uncomfortable fit for American culture, scratchy and confining in all the wrong places. The open-handed good fortune of an award that comes out of the blue and drops money right into your lap

only once in your whole life seemed more harmonious with a society entertained by "Queen For A Day" television programs and enthralled by lotteries. We made the award amount \$5,000, a figure debated almost interminably when the fellowships were first established and again after 10 years when inflation raised it to \$10,000.

But actually, God turned out to be where He usually is, according to popular tradition – in the details. We had always thought the hard part would be to decide each year who would be given the fellowships, and we had been right, it was hard. But we also found that what happened after the panel decisions had been made was just as hard and just as important.

Simply calling a group of working artists National Heritage Fellows was not going to make much difference. What we could possibly affect was the impact of their work, how seriously it was taken inside and outside their communities, how many young people would think of trying to learn it, how many older people would begin to try to recall what they had known about that "old stuff," how much could be charged for their labor, and other practical issues. To use a contemporary phrase, we were empowering these artists. We hadn't been thinking in the beginning about getting into the empowerment business and, as is usual in newly developing human activities, we mostly made up what we did as we went along. We began to decorate.

The proclaiming of a National Heritage Fellow now consists of three somewhat ritualized events: a formal awards presentation on Capitol Hill before representatives from the House and Senate; a private dinner party for friends and family, complete with wine and speeches, where personal ties are forged and cultural strategies are considered; and a public concert in which the arts of the honorees are demonstrated before a cheering audience of everyday Washingtonians, where the musicians and dancers perform and the crafts workers discuss their work in front of wall-sized photographs of their creations. Governmental, personal, and public. All these worlds are fused, we believe, in the National Heritage Fellowship celebrations.

Bess Lomax Hawes recently retired as the Director of the Folk and Traditional Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. She has taught folklore at the California State University at Northridge and has been a Deputy Director of the Festival of American Folklife. Her publications include, with co-author Bessie Jones, *Step It Down: Games, Plays, Songs, and Stories from the Afro-American Heritage*.

We have tried occasionally to simplify the conduct of the celebration, but are reluctant to tamper with a ritual that is both popular and full of content. If I were to project a scholarly study of the results of this program, I would ask all the participants what part of the event seemed the most meaningful to them at the time, and what part seemed especially important in later reflection. Probably they wouldn't know. We often expect artists to tell us things that are beyond the capacity of most of us to formulate; and of course, they give it a good try, but usually their wisdom comes out in their art rather than in the answers to questionnaires.

My own reading is that the overall program has demonstrably helped a significant number of individual artists and has had no particular effect on others, who simply came to Washington, had a lovely time, and returned home with their certificates and checks to settle back into their ordinary ways. We have yet to hear of a situation – much feared when we started out – in which any artist returned home to unpleasantness of any sort.

But what the annual announcement of the National Heritage Fellowships *has* done without question is to help *all* Americans look with new eyes at the heady and creative surroundings in which they live, as full of color and variety as any flower garden. We don't usually see these riches, because we don't know they are there and therefore pass them by. Every year people tell the Folk Arts Program that they had never even heard of most of the art forms being honored, of the artists that created them, or of the communities where they flourish. If this significant effect can be maintained, if some competition to the enervating repetitiousness of popular culture can be mounted through this small federal expenditure, the National Heritage Fellowships will have made a truly important contribution to the quality of life across the entire United States.

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The National Heritage Fellowships: Frames, Fames & Aims



by Dan Sheehy

The Folk and Traditional Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) is pleased to join with the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies in this year's special focus on "Masters of Traditional Arts." This program of the Festival of American Folklife offers an opportunity for *retrospection* – a look at many of the artists and traditions recognized over the years through the National Heritage Fellowships, a grant program of the National Endowment for the Arts. At the same time, it is an occasion for *introspection* – a close-up, reflexive view of the National Heritage Fellowships, re-examining their purpose, listening to the insights of the Fellows themselves, and talking with those who conceive and plan such awards.

This is not the first collaboration between the NEA Folk and Traditional Arts Program and the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies. In 1982, the year the National Endowment for the Arts launched its Heritage awards, the Fellows were presented to the public on a special stage at the Festival of American Folklife.

Dr. Robert Garfias, a member of the National Council on the Arts, presents award certificates to Hawaiian hula masters Nalani and Pualani Kanaka'ole at the 1993 National Heritage Fellowship ceremony on Capitol Hill. Photo by William K. Geiger

But the connections run even deeper. The person whose vision and determination brought the Heritage awards into being, Bess Lomax Hawes, was formerly a senior collaborator with the Festival of American Folklife's creator, Ralph Rinzler, in organizing the mammoth and magnificent Bicentennial Festivals of 1975 and 1976. Bess's experiences with the Festival honed much of the thought that gave rise to the Heritage Fellowships. And, from the point of view of many of the artists themselves, the NEA Folk and Traditional Arts Program and the Smithsonian folklife program have long been closely allied. Through the Smithsonian's Festival and the Endowment's funding activities, the programs have worked in tandem to provide opportunities for broad public recognition of our nation's accomplished traditional artists. Many of the Fellows' histories show that they had appeared at the Festival of American Folklife before receiving a Heritage award.



Nicholas Charles, a Yup'ik Eskimo from Bethel, Alaska, crafts a traditional mask. Photo by Suzi Jones

ered, grand representatives of our nation's diverse cultural heritage inevitably turn their thoughts toward more serious matters. This is an all-too-rare occasion for the culturally and geographically distant tradition bearers to exchange views and encourage one another. Their eloquent, insightful, personal statements transcend cultural boundaries and map common cultural concerns. Some are striking tributes to the courage and individual determination it often takes to continue local traditions in a world increasingly driven by consumerism and pop culture. Others are testimonies to the vital role of traditional arts in cultural survival and self-determination. Together the National Heritage Fellows reveal the special beauty and deep meaning that the traditional arts hold for those who understand them, as well as the importance of multiculturalism to the nation.

While the words "folk" and "tradition" place great importance on the relationships that link the members of a group, within most cultures it is often the extraordinary talents and contributions of individuals that perpetuate and shape artistic expression. The National Heritage Fellowships try to strike a balance between recognizing outstanding individuals and ensembles and celebrating the collective achievements of their traditions and cultural groups.

A review panel of experts and peers convened by the National Endowment for the Arts judges Heritage award nominations by three criteria: artistic excellence, authenticity, and significance within tradition. The criterion of excellence measures the nominee's qualities as a practitioner, interpreter, and creator within the art form. Authenticity gauges the artist's qualities as a representative of the deepest tenets and the cultural authority of an artistic tradition and the sociocultural group of which it is a part. The criterion of significance within tradition judges the variety of ways an individual has enhanced the tradition as a whole – through being an important role model, through teaching, through significant innovation, and so forth.

THE NATIONAL HERITAGE FELLOWSHIPS
The annual events surrounding the National Heritage Fellowships for the past 13 years have provided an occasion for both celebration and "cerebration." Each year a small number of artists – a dozen or so – are selected by the National Endowment for the Arts to receive a \$10,000 fellowship in recognition of their artistic excellence and their contributions to our nation's cultural life. These awards are announced each spring through a national press release that is disseminated widely, with particular attention given to the artists' home communities and cultural networks. This initial announcement has never failed to elicit comment about how revealing the awards are of the strength, vitality, and diversity of the many artistic threads in our national cultural fabric. In the fall, Fellows come to Washington for several days of celebratory and honoring events. They receive award certificates in a lively, congressionally-sponsored presentation on Capitol Hill. They perform at a free concert/gala organized by the National Council for the Traditional Arts and hosted by a national celebrity known for the breadth of his or her work with American cultures. In the past hosts have included Charles Kuralt, Ruby Dee, Studs Terkel, and Pete Seeger.

Joy and excitement run high during this time, but in more private and informal moments, these gath-



FRAMES, FAMES & AIMS

To be sure, the National Heritage Fellowships are a tangible reward to "many of our most significant and influential folk and traditional artists [who] go unrecognized by the larger community and unrepaid for their contributions to the nation and to the arts," as stated in the Folk and Traditional Arts Program guidelines. But to those of us who worked to create and refine the awards over the past 13 years, they are also vehicles for cultural development. Three key concepts that have guided our policy might be termed "frames," "fames," and "aims."

Granting national recognition to a community artist and traditional art form puts a metaphoric "frame" around that person and practice and invites others to see it in a new light as something worthy of special attention. This cultural strategy has long been fundamental to the practice of conferring the Heritage awards, and it generally works as intended. But we never in a million grant cycles could have imagined how it would actually play out in the real world. When Okinawan-American musician Harry Nakasone received his award, his friends in Honolulu organized a golf tournament in his honor. Apache violin maker Chesley Wilson was hired by Wrangler to appear in advertisements for blue jeans. Woodcarver Emilio Rosado, maskmaker Juan Alindato, and *bomba* musician Rafael Cepeda –

Mexican-American mariachi musician Natividad Cano (center right) of Monterey Park, California, is the leader of the group Los Camperos. Photo by Lalo Garcia

all from Puerto Rico – became the subjects in a series of Budweiser advertisements in *Hispanic* magazine that spoke of cultural pride. Black Sacred Harp singer Dewey Williams was invited to address the Alabama state legislature. Musician / dancer Kevin Locke and porcupine quillworker Alice New Holy Blue Legs, both Lakota Sioux from South Dakota, received special awards from the governor of that state. The governor of North Dakota dropped by Sister Rosalia Haberl's convent to view the German-style lace for which she was honored (though her fellow nuns delight in telling how she hid in a closet at first because she didn't know what to say to him).

The Fellowships have brought thoughtful attention from the mass media. Many of the Fellows were featured in an article in *National Geographic* (co-authored by the co-curator of this Festival program, Marjorie Hunt), which reached 20 million readers. The *New Yorker* published a profile on the awards and a feature article on North Carolina storyteller Ray Hicks. An award-winning radio series presented a 52-part retrospective on that number of past Fellows. WNET public television in New York



Bill Monroe, the father of bluegrass music, received a National Heritage Fellowship in 1982. Photo by Dane Penland, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

produced six vignettes entitled "The Songs of Six Families," which was a 90-minute segment of the "Great Performances" series and featured Cajun fiddler Dewey Balfa, Inupiaq musician Paul Tiulana, Irish musician Jack Coen, mariachi leader Natividad Cano, Mardi Gras Indian costume maker Tootie Montana, and B.B. King. The Museum of International Folk Arts in New Mexico mounted the major touring exhibit "America's Living Folk Traditions," which gave special attention to the first 10 years of Heritage-award-winning craftworkers. And so on.

One of the major effects of this new "frame" was to intensify the Fellow's particular "fame" within a community; that is, it enhanced his or her role in nurturing the tradition. In Steve Siporin's attractive retrospective on the first 10 years of Heritage Fellows entitled *American Folk Masters* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992), he grouped these roles into three categories – Inheritors, Innovators, and Conservers. Inheritors, as the name implies, are venerable elders, carriers of potent cultural meaning, "living libraries" of cultural and artistic wisdom. Inheritors typically have a long-time devotion to a culturally important art form or occupy an esteemed place within their cultural group. Doug Wallin is the latest in a long line of Anglo ballad singers in and around Sodom Laurel, North Carolina. Yup'ik Eskimo craftworkers, dancer / musi-



Janie Hunter is an African-American singer and storyteller from Johns Island, South Carolina. Photo by Wade Spees

cians, and storytellers Nick and Elena Charles provide younger Yup'ik a vital lifeline to their cultural past and a key element in their cultural future.

Innovators use their deep understanding of traditional aesthetics to explore new artistic directions, finding harmonies in sociocultural change, enlivening it, and creating new artistic possibilities for their cultural

groups. Bill Monroe, Ralph Stanley, and Earl Scruggs created "bluegrass" music with their talent and knowledge of an Anglo-Appalachian string band heritage, and established a new and popular regional musical style.

Conservers are at the same time artists, advocates, and teachers. The Kanaka'ole sisters Pualani and Nalani are exquisite dancers and key voices in the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement. The elderly Cambodian dance teacher Peou Khatna brought the refined skills of a geographically and psychically distant past into the lives of members of her refugee community in the United States.

For some a Heritage award is an added credential to be used in pursuing desired goals. For other Fellows, an award confirms and multiplies their determination to play a positive, active role in their local cultural milieu. On many occasions bluesman

John Cephas is a master Piedmont blues musician and a dedicated teacher of the tradition.

Photo by Lisa Falk

John Cephas has spoken of how this honor brings a responsibility of caring for his tradition and helping others to carry it on. With his award Slovenian-American accordionist Louis Bashell created a mini-endowment that generates small grants to support Slovenian music in his hometown of Greenfield, Wisconsin. Mariachi musician Nati Cano said of the award, "I know what this means. I have to make mariachi music the best it can possibly be."

The National Heritage Fellowships are conceived within and dedicated to the notion that our democracy is constantly in a state of *becoming*. We are constantly searching for ways to enhance our freedom to be ourselves, both as individuals and as groups of people bonded together by shared ways of communicating, working, celebrating, and worshiping. And at the same time we seek the mutual understanding necessary to live together harmoniously in a shared political, social, and cultural framework. The National Heritage Fellowships continue to demonstrate that *e pluribus unum* is still an experiment in how the *pluribus* can be more vivid and lively and the *unum* more informed and stronger. During the Festival of American Folklife's Bicentennial years, Ralph Rinzler declared the Festival to be a "Declaration of Cultural Independence," an assertion of our basic right to practice our own cultures freely. Exercised with consideration, it is a right that brings us

Dan Sheehy is the Director of the Folk and Traditional Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts, an independent federal agency. He joined the Arts Endowment in 1978, coming from California, where he helped organize the "Regional America" presentation of the 1975 and 1976 Festival of American Folklife. He is an ethnomusicologist and a practicing musician.



together, not tears us apart, as Americans. The National Heritage Fellowships share this conviction with the Festival, making it appropriate to find these two ongoing experiments in cultural democracy once again united on our National Mall.

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National Heritage Fellows

1982

Dewey Balfa*
Cajun Fiddler
Basile, LA

Joe Heaney*
Irish-American Singer
Brooklyn, NY

Tommy Jarrell*
Appalachian Fiddler
Mt. Airy, NC

Bessie Jones*
Sea Island Singer
Brunswick, GA

George López*
Hispanic Woodcarver
Cordova, NM

Brownie McGhee
Blues Guitarist
Oakland, CA

Hugh McGraw
Shape-note Singer
Bremen, GA

Lydia Mendoza
Mexican-American Singer
Houston, TX

Bill Monroe
Bluegrass Musician
Nashville, TN

Elijah Pierce*
African-American
Carver/Painter
Columbus, OH

Adam Popovich
Tamburitza Musician
Dolton, IL

Georgeann Robinson*
Osage Ribbonworker
Bartlesville, OK



*"We're carrying on the designs
from way back. We do it so
that we will remember."*

Margaret Tafoya, Pueblo Indian potter

Duff Severe
Western Saddlemaker
Pendleton, OR

Philip Simmons
Ornamental Ironworker
Charleston, SC

Sanders "Sonny" Terry*
Blues Musician
Holliswood, NY

1983

Sister Mildred Barker*
Shaker Singer
Poland Springs, ME

Rafael Cepeda
Bomba Musician/Dancer
Santurce, PR

Ray Hicks
Appalachian Storyteller
Banner Elk, NC

Stanley Hicks*
*Appalachian Musician/
Instrument Maker*
Vilas, NC

John Lee Hooker
Blues Guitarist/Singer
San Carlos, CA

Mike Manteo*
Italian-American Marionettist
Staten Island, NY

Narciso Martinez*
Mexican-American
Accordionist/Composer
San Benito, TX

Lanier Meaders
Southern Potter
Cleveland, GA

Almeda Riddle*
Ozark Ballad Singer
Greers Ferry, AR

Simon St. Pierre
French-American Fiddler
Smyrna Mills, ME

Joe Shannon
Irish-American Piper
Chicago, IL

Alex Stewart*
Cooper/Woodworker
Sneadville, TN

Ada Thomas*
Chitimacha Basketmaker
Charenton, LA

Lucinda Toomer*
African-American Quilter
Columbus, GA



Lem Ward*
Decoy Carver/Painter
Crisfield, MD

Dewey Williams
Shape-note Singer
Ozark, AL

1984

Clifton Chenier*
African-American/Creole
Accordionist
Lafayette, LA

Bertha Cook*
Knotted Bedspread Maker
Boone, NC

Joseph Cormier
Cape Breton Fiddler
Waltham, MA

Elizabeth Cotten*
African-American
Singer/Songwriter
Syracuse, NY

Burlon Craig
Southern Potter
Vale, NC

Albert Fahlbusch
Hammered Dulcimer
Maker/Player
Scottsbluff, NE

Janie Hunter
African-American
Singer/Storyteller
Johns Island, SC

Mary Jane Manigault
African-American Seagrass
Basketmaker
Mt. Pleasant, SC

*"I've been in this business
40 years, and I still learn
something almost every day.
I've never made [a saddle] that
I thought was perfect. I've never
done it. So I tell people I've
served a 40-year apprenticeship
— and still working on it!"*

Duff Severe, saddlemaker

Genevieve Mougin*
Lebanese-American
Lacemaker
Bettendorf, IA

Martin Mulvihill*
Irish-American Fiddler
Bronx, NY

Howard "Sandman" Sims
African-American
Tap Dancer
New York, NY

Ralph Stanley
Bluegrass Banjo
Player/Singer
Coeburn, VA

Margaret Tafoya
Pueblo Indian Potter
Santa Clara, NM

Dave Tarras*
Jewish Klezmer Clarinetist
Brooklyn, NY

Paul Tiulana
Eskimo Maskmaker/
Dancer/Singer
Anchorage, AK

Cleofes Vigil*
Hispanic Storyteller/Singer
San Cristobal, NM

Kau'i Zuttermeister*
Hula Master
Kaneohe, HI

1985

Eppie Archuleta
Hispanic Weaver
Alamosa, CO

Periklis Halkias
Greek-American Clarinetist
Queens, NY

Jimmy Jausoro
Basque-American
Accordionist
Boise, ID

Meali'i Kalama*
Hawaiian Quilter
Honolulu, HI

Lily May Ledford*
Appalachian Musician/Singer
Lexington, KY

Leif Melgaard*
Norwegian-American
Woodcarver
Minneapolis, MN

Boua Xou Mua
Hmong-American Musician
Portland, OR

Julio Negron-Rivera
Puerto Rican Instrument
Maker
Morovis, PR

Alice New Holy Blue Legs
Lakota Sioux Quill Artist
Oglala, SD

Glenn Ohrlin
Cowboy Singer/Storyteller
Mountain View, AR

Henry Townsend
Blues Musician/Songwriter
St. Louis, MO

Horace "Spoons" Williams*
Spoons/Bones Player/Poet
Philadelphia, PA

1986

Alfonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin
African-American/Creole
Accordionist
Eunice, LA

Earnest Bennett
Whittler
Indianapolis, IN

Helen Cordero
Pueblo Indian Potter
Cochiti, NM

Sonia Domsch
Czech-American Bobbin
Lacemaker
Atwood, KS

Canray Fontenot
African-American/Creole
Fiddler
Welsh, LA

John Jackson
African-American Singer/
Guitarist
Fairfax Station, VA

Peou Khatna
Cambodian-American
Dancer/Choreographer
Silver Spring, MD

Valerio Longoria
Mexican-American
Accordionist
San Antonio, TX

Joyce Doc Tate Nevaquaya
Comanche Indian Flutist
Apache, OK

Photo by John Michael Vlach



*"I build a gate,
I build it to last 200 years.
If it looks good, you feel good.
I build a gate, and I just
be thinking about 200 years.
If you don't, you're not
an honest craftsman."*

Philip Simmons, blacksmith

Thomas Edison
"Brownie" Ford
Anglo-Comanche Cowboy
Singer
Hebert, LA

Kansuma Fujima
Japanese-American Dancer
Los Angeles, CA

Claude Joseph Johnson*
African-American Religious
Singer/Orator
Atlanta, GA

Raymond Kane
Hawaiian Slack Key
Guitarist/Singer
Wai'anae, HI

Wade Mainer
Appalachian Banjo
Player/Singer
Flint, MI

Sylvester McIntosh
Crucian Singer/Bandleader
St. Croix, VI

Allison "Tootie" Montana
Mardi Gras Chief/
Costume Maker
New Orleans, LA

Alex Moore, Sr.*
African-American Blues
Pianist
Dallas, TX

Emilio and Senaida Romero
Hispanic Tinworker and
Embroiderer
Santa Fe, NM

Newton Washburn
Split-ash Basketmaker
Littleton, NH

Luis Ortega
Hispanic Rawhide Worker
Paradise, CA

Ola Belle Reed
Appalachian Banjo
Player/Singer
Rising Sun, MD

Jenny Thlunaut*
Tlingit Chilkat Blanket
Weaver
Haines, AK

Nimrod Workman
Appalachian Ballad Singer
Mascot, TN/Chattaroy, WV

1987

Juan Alindato
Carnival Maskmaker
Ponce, PR

Louis Bashell
Slovenian-American
Accordionist/Polka Master
Greenfield, WI

Genoveva Castellanoz
Mexican-American
Corona Maker
Nyssa, OR

1988

Pedro Ayala*
Mexican-American
Accordionist
Donna, TX

Kepka Belton
Czech-American Egg Painter
Ellsworth, KS

Amber Densmore*
Quilter/Needleworker
Chelsea, VT

Michael Flatley
Irish-American Dancer
Palos Park, IL

Sister Rosalia Haberl
German-American Bobbin
Lacemaker
Hankinson, ND

John Dee Holeman
African-American Dancer/
Musician/Singer
Durham, NC

Albert "Sunnyland Slim"
Luandrew
African-American Blues
Pianist/Singer
Chicago, IL

Yang Fang Nhu
Hmong-American Weaver/
Embroiderer
Detroit, MI

Kenny Sidle
Anglo-American Fiddler
Newark, OH

Willie Mae Ford Smith*
African-American Gospel
Singer
St. Louis, MO

Photo by Lucy Long



*"Here's my dad's dulcimer.
There's his dulcimer he built
years ago – it still lives,
it's still there. And the same
way by myself. When I'm gone,
there's some of my stuff
for the young 'uns –
you know, it still lives."*

Stanley Hicks, Appalachian instrument maker

Clyde "Kindy" Sproat
Hawaiian Cowboy
Singer/Ukulele Player
Kapa'au, HI

Arthel "Doc" Watson
Appalachian Guitar
Player/Singer
Deep Gap, NC

1989

John Cephas
Piedmont Blues
Guitarist/Singer
Woodford, VA

Fairfield Four
African-American a capella
Gospel Singers
Nashville, TN

José Gutiérrez
Mexican-American Jarocho
Musician/Singer
Norwalk, CA

Richard Avedis Hagopian
Armenian-American Oud
(Lute) Player
Visalia, CA

Christy Hengel
German-American
Concertina Maker
New Ulm, MN

Ilias Kementzides
Pontic Greek-American
Lyra Player
Norwalk, CT

Ethel Kvalheim
Norwegian-American
Rosemaler
Stoughton, WI

Vanessa Paukeigope
Morgan
Kiowa Regalia Maker
Anadarko, OK

Mabel E. Murphy
Quilter
Fulton, MO

LaVaughn E. Robinson
African-American Tap
Dancer
Philadelphia, PA

Earl Scruggs
Bluegrass Banjo Player
Madison, TN

Harry V. Shourds
Wildfowl Decoy Carver
Seaville, NJ

Chesley Goseyun Wilson
Apache Fiddle Maker
Tucson, AZ

1990

Howard Armstrong
African-American String
Band Musician
Detroit, MI

Em Bun
Cambodian-American Silk
Weaver
Harrisburg, PA

Natividad Cano
Mexican-American Mariachi
Musician
Monterey Park, CA



Photo by Robert Kollar, courtesy Tennessee Valley Authority

Giuseppe and Raffaela DeFranco
Italian-American Musicians and Dancers
Belleville, NJ

Maude Kegg
Ojibwa Storyteller/
Beadworker
Onamia, MN

Kevin Locke
Lakota Sioux Flutist
Mobridge, SD

Marie McDonald
Hawaiian Lei Maker
Kamuela, HI

Wallace McRae
Cowboy Poet
Forsyth, MT

Art Moilanen
Finnish-American
Accordionist
Mass City, MI

Emilio Rosado
Woodcarver
Utuado, PR

Robert Spicer
Flatfoot Dancer
Dickson, TN

Doug Wallin
Appalachian Ballad Singer
Marshall, NC

1991

Etta Baker
African-American Guitarist
Morgantown, NC

George Blake
Native American Craftsman
(Hupa-Yurok)
Hoopa, CA

*"I've made all my tools,
matter of fact, everything I've got.
My grandfather, I learned this
from him. He made everything.
Anything that could be
thought about, he made it.
And I got the pattern off of his."*

Alex Stewart, Appalachian cooper

Jack Coen
Irish-American Flutist
Bronx, NY

Rose Frank
Native American Cornhusk Weaver (Nez Perce)
Lapwai, ID

Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero
Mexican-American
Singer/Guitarist/Composer
Cathedral City, CA

Khamvong Insixiengmai
Lao-American Singer
Fresno, CA

Don King
Western Saddlemaker
Sheridan, WY

Riley "B.B." King
African-American Bluesman
Itta Bena, MS/Las Vegas, NV

Esther Littlefield
Tlingit Regalia Maker
Sitka, AK

Seisho "Harry" Nakasone
Okinawan-American
Musician
Honolulu, HI

Irvan Perez
Isleno (Canary Island)
Singer
Poydras, LA

Morgan Sexton*
Appalachian Banjo
Player/Singer
Linfork, KY

Nikitas Tsimouris
Greek-American Bagpipe
Player
Tampa Springs, FL

Gussie Wells
African-American Quilter
Oakland, CA

Arbie Williams
African-American Quilter
Oakland, CA

Melvin Wine
Appalachian Fiddler
Copen, WV

1992

Francisco Aguabella
Afro-Cuban Drummer
Manhattan Beach, CA

Jerry Brown
Southern Potter
Hamilton, AL

Walker Calhoun
Cherokee Musician/
Dancer/Teacher
Cherokee, NC

Clyde Davenport
Appalachian Fiddler
Monticello, KY



Photo by Martha Cooper, courtesy City Lore

Belle Deacon
Athabascan
Basketmaker
Grayling, AK

Nora Ezell
African-American Quilter
Eutaw, AL

Gerald R. Hawpetoss
Menominee/Potowatomi
Regalia Maker
Milwaukee, WI

Fatima Kuinova
Bukharan Jewish Singer
Rego Park, NY

John Naka
Bonsai Sculptor
Los Angeles, CA

Ng Sheung-Chi
Chinese-American Toissan
muk'yu Folk Singer
New York, NY

Marc Savoy
Cajun Accordion Maker/Player
Eunice, LA

Othar Turner
African-American Fife Player
Senatobia, MS

T. Viswanathan
Indian-American Flute
Master
Middletown, CT

1993

Santiago Almeida
Texas-Mexican Conjunto
Musician
Sunnyside, WA

"We love our marionettes. It's our tradition, a family tradition. We're all fanatics about the marionettes!"

Michael "Papa" Manteo, Italian-American puppeteer

Kenny Baker
Bluegrass Fiddler
Cottontown, TN

Inez Catalon
French Creole Singer
Kaplan, LA

Nicholas and Elena Charles
Yup'ik Woodcarver/
Maskmaker and Skinsewer
Bethel, AK

Charles E. Hankins
Boatbuilder
Lavallette, NJ

Nalani Kanaka'ole and
Pualani Kanaka'ole
Kanahele
Hula Masters
Hilo, HI

Everett Kapayou
Native American Singer
(Mesquakie Tribe)
Tama, IA

McIntosh County Shouters
African-American
Spiritual/Shout Performers
Townsend, GA

Elmer Miller*
Bit and Spur Maker/
Silversmith
Nampa, ID

Jack Owens
Blues Singer/Guitarist
Bentonia, MS

Mone and Vanxay
Saenphimmachak
Lao-American
Weaver/Needleworker
and Loommaker
St. Louis, MO

Liang-xing Tang
Chinese-American Pipa
(Lute) Player
Bayside, NY

1994

Liz Carroll
Irish-American Fiddler
Chicago, IL

Clarence Fountain
and the Blind
Boys
African-American
Gospel Quartet
Atlanta, GA

Mary Gabriel
Passamaquoddy Indian
Basketmaker
Princeton Indian Township,
ME

Johnny Gimble
"Texas Swing" Fiddler
Dripping Springs, TX

Frances Varos Graves
Hispanic Colcha
Embroiderer
Ranchos de Taos, NM

Violet Hilbert
Skagit Indian Orator/
Storyteller/Tribal Leader
Seattle, WA

Sosei Shizuye Matsumoto
Japanese-American Tea
Ceremony Master
Los Angeles, CA

D. L. Menard
Cajun Singer/Songwriter
Erath, LA

Simon Shaheen
Arab-American Ud (Lute)
Player
Brooklyn, NY

Lily Vorperian
Armenian-American
Embroiderer
Glendale, CA

Roma Wilson
African-American Singer/
Harmonica Player
Blue Springs, MS

* (deceased)

S M I T H S O N I A N
I N S T I T U T I O N

1994
Festival
of
American
Folklife

July 1 – 4 & July 7 – 10

General Information

Información General

FESTIVAL HOURS

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Music Stage in the "Masters of Traditional Arts" area at 11:00 a.m., Friday, July 1st. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., and evening concerts from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.

HORARIO DEL FESTIVAL

La ceremonia de apertura al Festival se celebrará en el escenario principal del "Masters of Traditional Arts," el 1^{er} de julio a las 11:00 a.m. A partir de ese día, las horas del Festival serán de 11:00 a.m. a 5:30 p.m. diariamente con fiestas bailables cada noche de 5:30 a 7:00 p.m. y conciertos de 7:00 a 9:00 p.m.

SALES

Traditional food from The Bahamas, Thailand, and the Americas will be sold. See the site map for locations.

A variety of crafts, books, and Smithsonian/Folkways recordings relating to the 1994 Festival will be sold in the Festival Sales area on the Festival site and the lawn of the Museum of American History.

PRESS

Visiting members of the press should register at the Festival Press tent on the Mall near Madison Drive and 12th Street.

FIRST AID

A first aid station will be available near the Administration area on the Mall. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

PRIMEROS AUXILIOS

Una unidad de la Cruz Roja Americana se instalará en una carpeta cerca del área de la Administración. Las unidades de salud en los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural estarán abiertos desde las 10:00 a.m. hasta las 5:30 p.m.

RESTROOMS/TELEPHONES

There are outdoor facilities for the public and visitors with disabilities located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional restroom facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Public telephones are available on the site, opposite the Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

LOST & FOUND/ LOST CHILDREN & PARENTS

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

PERSONAS Y OBJETOS EXTRAVIADOS

Las personas que estén extraviadas o que hayan extraviado a sus familiares, pueden pasar por el Puesto de Voluntarios, en el área de la Administración, para encontrarse con su grupo. Recomendamos que los niños lleven puestas tarjetas con sus nombres. Los objetos extraviados o encontrados podrán entregarse o reclamarse en el mismo puesto.

METRO STATIONS

Metro trains will be running every

day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to the Smithsonian and Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange lines.

EVENING ACTIVITIES

Traditional dance music is played every evening, except July 4, 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., at the Music Stage in the "Masters of Traditional Arts" area. Come dance.

An evening concert featuring groups from the Festival programs will follow the dance party from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.

On July 4, a Junkanoo parade will begin at 5:30 p.m.

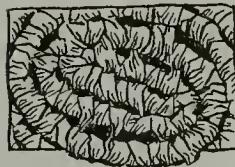
SERVICES FOR VISITORS WITH DISABILITIES

To make the Festival more accessible to visitors who are deaf or hard of hearing, audio loops are installed in the "Masters of Traditional Arts" Music tent, the "Thailand" Temple Fair tent, and the "Bahamas" Church tent. Four sign language interpreters are on site every day at the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 786-2414 (TTY) or (202) 786-2942 (voice).

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the program book and schedule are available at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival Volunteer tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visitors with visual impairments. There are a few designated parking spaces for visitors with disabilities along both Mall drives. These spaces have three-hour time restrictions.

Participants in the 1994 Festival of American Folklife



THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS CRAFTS

Peggy Colebrooke – straw worker/basketmaker – Red Bays, Andros

William "Scrap Iron"

Colebrooke – straw worker/basketmaker – Red Bays, Andros

Viola Collie – straw/needleworker – Nassau/Masons Bay, Acklins

Allen Dixon – shell worker – Burnt Ground, Long Island

Cecile Annette Dunnam – quilter – Spanish Wells

Amos Ferguson – folk painter – Nassau, New Providence

Bloneva Ferguson – rag doll maker – Nassau, New Providence

Wendy Kelly – straw worker – Nassau, New Providence/Acklins

Lorna Kemp – straw worker – Current Island, Eleuthera

Elsie Knowles – straw worker – O'Neals, Long Island

Olga Major – straw worker – Berry's, Long Island

Marie Murray – quilter – Nassau, New Providence

Eloise Smith – straw worker – Farmer's Cay, Exuma

Henry Wallace – woodcarver – Red Bays, Andros

BOATBUILDERS

Joseph Albury – Man of War Cay, Abaco

Kingston Brown – Cargill Creek, Andros

Bertis Knowles – Mangrove Bush, Long Island

Ryan Knowles – kite maker – Mangrove Bush, Long Island

Edward Lockhart – Nassau, New Providence/Ragged Island

STORYTELLERS

Derek Burrows – Nassau, New Providence

Sheddie Cox – Inagua

Cleveland Eneas – Bain

Mabel Williams – United Estates, San Salvador

FOODWAYS/BUSH MEDICINE

Samuel Collie – bush medicine/boatbuilder/storyteller – Pirate's Well, Mayaguana

Agnes Britely Ferguson – contemporary Bahamian cuisine – Nassau, New Providence

Wealthy Gomez – contemporary Bahamian cuisine – Nassau, New Providence

Anthony "Tony Macaroni" Hanna – conch cuisine – Freeport, Grand Bahama

Rowena Hepburn – fire-hearth cooking – Bluff, Cat Island

Daisy Nottage – bush medicine – Behring Point, Andros

James Sweeting – traditional Bahamian cuisine – Nicholl's Town, Andros

Daisy Thompson – traditional baking – Gregory Town, Eleuthera

MUSICIANS

Cebrie "Seabreeze" Bethel – vocals – Gregory Town, Eleuthera

Jane "Baby Doll" Clarke – drums – Exuma

Clifton Deveaux – gospel rhyme – Dunmore, Long Island

Israel Forbes – guitar, vocals – Bluff, South Andros

Macfarlane "Tony" Mackey, "Exuma The Obeah Man" – Nassau, New Providence

Donald Newbold – anthem singer – Orange Creek, Cat Island

Patrick Rahming – vocals – Nassau, New Providence

Nattie Saunders – banjo – Alice Town, Bimini

Dicey Doh: A Capella

Edward Bethel – Nassau, New Providence

Dwayne Curtis – Nassau, New Providence

Garland Dean – Nassau, New Providence

Kermit C. Strachan – Nassau, New Providence

Tex Turnquest – Nassau, New Providence

Ed Moxey's Goombay Rake 'n Scrape

Cyril Oliver Dean – drum – Nassau, New Providence

Edmund Moxey – accordion – Nassau, New Providence

Huelton Newbold – saw – Nassau, New Providence

Johnson Family and Friends: Choral/Wake Music

Eric Darville – New Bight, Cat Island

Roslyn Johnson – New Bight, Cat Island

Bettymae McKenzie – New Bight, Cat Island

Graida Knowles – Steventon, Exuma

Iva Thompson – New Bight, Cat Island

Osborne King and the Cat Island Mites: Dancers

Olivia Bowles – Orange Creek, Cat Island

Buina Cleare – Nassau, New Providence

Susiema Dorsett – Nassau, New Providence

Ishmel Gaitor – Dumfries, Cat Island

Eugene Gilbert – Arthur's Town, Cat Island

Pearl Hart – Nassau, New Providence

Osborne "Ossie" King – Nassau, New Providence

Sam Webb – Arthur's Town, Cat Island

Thomas Cartwright and the Boys: Goombay Rake and Scrape

Thomas Cartwright – accordion – Clarence Town, Long Island

Herbert Turnquest – saw – Clarence Town, Long Island

Orlando Turnquest – drum – Clarence Town, Long Island

"Zippy" Frazier and Children: A Capella/Dry Bones

Dexter Frazier – Staniard Creek, Andros

Harrington Frazier, Jr. – Staniard Creek, Andros

Harrington "Zippy" Frazier, Sr. – Staniard Creek, Andros

Quintero Frazier – Staniard Creek, Andros

Ricardo Frazier – Staniard Creek, Andros

MUSICAL DRAMATISTS

Avis Larrimore Armbrister – Arthur's Town, Cat Island

Almeda Campbell – Arthur's Town, Cat Island

JUNKANOO PARTICIPANTS

Anthony Bain (One Family) – Nassau, New Providence

Calvin Balfour (Most Qualified) – Nassau, New Providence

Stan Burnside (One Family) – Nassau, New Providence

Doyle A. Burrows (Valley Boys) – Nassau, New Providence

John Chipman – goatskin drum maker – Nassau, New Providence

Eugene Collie (Z Bandits) –
Nassau, New Providence
Winston "Gus" Cooper
(Valley Boys) – Nassau,
New Providence
Bernard Davis (One Family)
– Nassau, New Providence
Paul Henderson Deal (Fun
Time) – Nassau, New
Providence
Andrew Edwards (Vikings)
– Nassau, New Providence
Percy "Vola" Francis (Saxon
Superstars) – Nassau,
New Providence
Donzel Huyler, Jr. (Most
Qualified) – cowbell
maker – Nassau, New
Providence
Donzel "Donnie" Huyler, Sr.
(Most Qualified) –
cowbell maker – Nassau,
New Providence
Glen Erick Knowles
(Magnificent Congos) –
Nassau, New Providence
Johnny Lee (Saxon
Superstars) – Nassau,
New Providence
Barry Miller (Valley Boys) –
Nassau, New Providence
Peter Minnis (Saxon
Superstars) – Nassau,
New Providence
Anthony Morley
(Magnificent Congos) –
Nassau, New Providence
Wayde G. Robinson (Fancy
Dancers) – Nassau, New
Providence
Ted Sealey (Pigs) – Nassau,
New Providence
Ronald Simms – Junkanoo
Leaders Association –
Nassau, New Providence
Quintin "Banabbes"
Woodside (Roots) –
Nassau, New Providence

JUNKANOO RUSH
PARTICIPANTS
Classic Dancers
Godfrey "Pickey" Beneby,
Ken "Motorboat"
Ferguson
Fancy Dancers
Felix Adderley, Henry
Adderley, Keith Barr,
Andrew Jared, Daren
Johnson, Marco Mullings,
Sharango Oliver, Gary
Rolle, Torn Thompson
Freeport
Godfrey Beneby
Fun Time
Leonard Bain, Stephen
Davis, Franklyn Destama,
Dudley Saunders
Harbour Boys
Oswald Knowles, Charles
Michael Wright
Magnificent Congos
Harry Cooper, Reginald
Demeritte, Aaron
Deveaux, Gary Ferguson,
Keith Johnson, Allan
McClain, Jay Morley,
Amos Rahming, Marvin
Roker, Trevor Taylor,
Alvin Thurston
Mighty Vikings
Dave Adderley, Doroton
Darling, Will Delancey,
Marciano McKay, Clay
Martin, Richard Martin,
Deral Roker, Leon Roker,
Audley Thompson, Paul
Thurston, Dalon
Williams
Most Qualified
Benny Adderley, Anthony
Bosfield, Trevor DaCosta,
Roger Demeritte, Larry
Forbes, Sean Neilly, Cecil
Pinder, James Price,
Andrew Wallace
One Family
John Beadle, Ronald
Campbell, Dennis
Charlow, Gary Cooper,
Teran Davis, Freddie

Mackey, Robert Milfort,
Dennie Saunder, Marvin
Stubbs, Paul Thompson,
Byron Trotman, Timmie
Turnquest

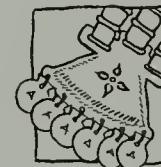
Pigs
Eskit Dean, Tyrone
Fitzgerald, William
Newman
Roots
Kevin Adderley, Maxwell
Beneby, Kevin Ferguson,
Stirling March, Albert
Rahming, Chris Rahming,
David Rolle, Gary Rolle,
Jason Simms, Cedric
Taylor, Kenneth Walcott

Saxon Superstars
Sean Adderley, Alexander
Green, George Hender-
son, Jerome Johnson,
Dion Miller, Theodore
Parker, Clinton Paul,
Gregory Pickering,
Kingsley Pickering,
Jeffrey Rahming
Superstar Rockers
Ernest Demeritte,
Barry Wilson
Swingers LTD
Philip Hanna, Errol
Seymour, Anthony
"Huck" Williams
Valley Boys

Herbert Bain, Howard
Bethel, Ronnie Cash,
Ryan Dorsett, Robert
Ferguson, Sean
Fernander, Michael
Foster, Andrew Hunter,
Kemuel Gardiner, Shayne
Moncur, Tyrone
Peterson, Dew Poitier,
Dennis Sturrup, Kim
Thompson, Tony
Williams

Western Jammers
Gordon Grant, Wesley
"Tanker" Williams

Z Bandits
Admiral Collie, Tito
Collie, Chris Elliot,
Herbert Miller



CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

ASSOCIAÇÃO DOS PEQUENOS
AGRICULTORES DO ESTADO
DA BAHIA – BAHIA, BRAZIL
Ismael Ferreira de Oliveira
– sisal farmer
Ivone Gonçalves de Oliveira
– singer, sisal farmer
Stefhan Klasson –
sisal farmer
Erenita Lionicia de Oliveira
– singer, sisal farmer
Lorismar Lopes Araújo –
singer, musician,
sisal farmer
Lourisvaldo Lopes Araújo –
singer, musician,
sisal farmer
Misael Lopes da Cunha –
sisal farmer
Renato Lopes da Cunha –
sisal farmer
Reinaldo Lopes de Oliveira
– sisal farmer
COMITÉ ARTISANAL HAITIEN
– PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI
Jean-Patrice Demosthene –
furniture maker
Romanès Alphonse Jean-
Louis – hat maker
Michèle Ramil Rémy –
metal sculptor
Lémira Valbrun –
basket weaver
Marie-Carmel Darismé –
organization advisor

ASUR/FEDERACIÓN JALQ'A-TARABUCO – SUCRE, BOLIVIA
 Marcos Cruz Mostacedo – *tapestry maker, storyteller*
 Alejandro Romero – *hat maker, musician*
 Simón Mamani Ventura – *dyer, weaver*
 Valentina Romero de Mamani – *weaver*
 Teresa Ventura Mamani – *weaver, musician*
 Damián Chambi Tardío – *dancer, instrument maker*
 Demetrio Condori Vargas – *dancer, musician*
 Casiano González González – *dancer, weaver*
 José Pachacopa Yampa – *dancer, musician*
 Faustina Quispe González – *weaver, dancer*
 José Vargas Quispe – *dancer, musician*
 Tomasa Vela Quispe – *weaver, singer*
PROYECTO CAMELLONES EXPERIMENTALES – BENI, BOLIVIA
 Julio Arce – *raised-field farmer*
 Marcial Fabricano – *raised-field farmer*
 Segundino Matareco – *raised-field farmer*
CENTRO DE CAPACITACIÓN INTEGRAL DE LA MUJER CAMPESINA – ORURO, BOLIVIA
 Trinidad Andrade – *educator*
 Ubaldina Salinas de Quispe – *educator*
 Germán Treviño – *illustrator*
EL CEIBO, BOLIVIA
 Bernardo Apaza – *cacao farmer*
 Juan Choconi – *cacao farmer*
 Gualberto Condori – *cacao farmer*
 Juana Fañio – *cacao farmer*
 Florentino Maceda – *cacao farmer*
 Gabriel Natte – *cacao farmer*

FUNDACIÓN WIÑAYARKA – TIWANAKU, BOLIVIA
 Manuel Calizaya Mendoza – *raised-field farmer*
 Sejia Flores Mamani – *raised-field farmer*
TIERRAS INDIGENAS DEL DARIÉN 1993: ZONAS DE SUBSISTENCIA – DARIÉN, PANAMA
 Manuel Ortega – *land surveyor, mapmaker*
 Facundo Sanapi – *land surveyor, coordinator*
CONGRESO KUNA – COMARCA DE SAN BLAS, PANAMA
 Nicanor González – *Kuna interpreter*
 Leonides Cantule Váldez – *Kuna cacique, oral historian*
COOPERATIVA PRODUCTORES DE MOLAS – PANAMA, PANAMA
 Rodolfsina Andreve – *mola maker*
 Serafina López – *mola maker*
COOPERACIÓN PARA EL DESARROLLO RURAL DE OCCIDENTE – TOTONICAPAN, GUATEMALA
 Tiburcio Martín Baquiaz Vásquez – *weaver, marimba player*
 Cecilio Luis Turnil – *weaver*
 Francisco Sic – *master weaver*
 Juana Felipa Sic Son – *weaver, cook*
 Ana Victoria García – *natural medicine, cook, weaver*
INDIGENAS DE LA SIERRA DE MADRE DE MOTOZINTLA – CHIAPAS, MEXICO
 Padre Jorge Aguilar Reyna – *organization advisor*
 Olivar Laynes Ramirez – *coffee farmer*
 Ciro Pérez Gómez – *coffee farmer*

Vidal de León Gómez – *coffee farmer*
 Guadalupe Morales Zunun – *coffee farmer*
 Adelaida Diaz López – *coffee farmer*
CASA DE LA MUJER MAPUCHE – TEMUCO, CHILE
 María Eugenia Antipán Peralta – *weaver*
 Haydee Mónica Chequiquán Elgueta – *organization advisor*
 Carolina Huaiquinao Huichacura – *weaver*
 Matilde Mariquéo Sandoval – *weaver*
 María Teresa Quintriqueo Huentenao – *weaver*
 Rosario Pilar Quiribán Nahuel – *weaver*
ASOCIACIÓN ARTESANAL CACHA – PROVINCIA DEL CHIMBORAZO, ECUADOR
 María Rosa Morocho Hipo – *weaver*
 Juan Leonardo Pilataxi Illapa – *weaver*
 Segundo Angel Sucuy Aguagaloo – *weaver*
RADIO LATACUNGA – PROVINCIA DE COTOPAXI, ECUADOR
 Jorge Gonzalo Guamán Coronel – *radio reporter, broadcaster*
 María Martina Ninasunta Changoluisa – *radio reporter, broadcaster*
FEDERACIÓN DE CENTROS SHUAR-ACHUAR – ORIENTE, ECUADOR
 Shamich Kintiu Chanketat – *craftsperson*
 Albino María Utitiaj – *educator*
 Carlos Miguel Tankamash – *oral historian*
 Kayap Shimpiu Masuk – *craftsperson*
 Felipe Tsenkush – *oral historian*
 Pedro Yu Mukuip – *topographer*

TAQUILE, PERU
 Alejandro Flores Huatta – *weaver, dancer, musician*
 Jesús Marca Quispe – *weaver, dancer, musician*
 Alejandro Huatta Machaca – *weaver, dancer, musician*
 Salvador Huatta Yuca – *weaver, dancer, musician*
 Marcelina Marca Machaca – *weaver, dancer*
 Mariano Flores Huatta – *weaver, dancer, musician*
 Juan Quispe Huatta – *weaver, dancer, musician*
 Teodocia Quispe Huatta – *weaver, dancer*



MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS: NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS NATIONAL HERITAGE FELLOWS

CRAFTS
 Juan Alindato – *Puerto Rican maskmaker – Ponce, Puerto Rico*
 Eppie Archuleta – *Hispanic weaver – Capulin, Colorado*
 Jerry Brown – *Southern potter – Hamilton, Alabama*
 Sandra Brown – *Southern potter – Hamilton, Alabama*
 Sonia Domsch – *Czech-American bobbin lacemaker – Atwood, Kansas*
 Marie McDonald – *Hawaiian lei maker – Kamuela, Hawai'i*

Norma Medina – Hispanic weaver – Medanales, New Mexico

Seth Mopope Morgan – Kiowa Indian regalia maker – Anadarko, Oklahoma

Vanessa Paukeigope Morgan – Kiowa Indian regalia maker – Anadarko, Oklahoma

Cliff Roller – Pueblo Indian potter – Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico

Toni Roller – Pueblo Indian potter – Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico

Keoudone Saenphimmachak – Lao-American weaver – St. Louis, Missouri

Mone Saenphimmachak – Lao-American weaver – St. Louis, Missouri

Vanxay Saenphimmachak – Lao-American loommaker – St. Louis, Missouri

Duff Severe – saddlemaker, rawhide worker – Pendleton, Oregon

Randy Severe – saddlemaker, rawhide worker – Pendleton, Oregon

Harry V. Shourds – decoy carver – Seaville, New Jersey

Margaret Tafoya – Pueblo Indian potter – Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico

Newton Washburn – split-ash basketmaker – Bethlehem, New Hampshire

Arbie Williams – African-American quilter – Oakland, California

MUSIC

Appalachian String Music

Scott Andersen – upright bass – Washington, D.C.

Clyde Davenport – fiddle – Jamestown, Tennessee

Dan Gammon – guitar – Knoxville, Tennessee

Natividad Cano y Los Camperos: Mexican-American Mariachi Music

José Arellano – guitarron – Los Angeles, California

Natividad Cano – director, guitar, vihuela (five-string guitar) – Los Angeles, California

Luis Fuentes Damian – vihuela – Pico Rivera, California

Jesus Guzmán – trumpet – Los Angeles, California

Ismael Hernández – violin – Los Angeles, California

Salvador Hernández – trumpet – Los Angeles, California

Juan Morales – harp – Phoenix, Arizona

Juan Rodríguez – violin – Los Angeles, California

Chinese Music

Liang-xing Tang – pipa (lute) – Bayside, New York

Jennifer Tang – pipa (lute) – Bayside, New York

Jessica Tang – pipa (lute) – Bayside, New York

Jack Coen & Friends: Irish Traditional Music

Charles Coen – concertina – Red Hook, New York

Jack Coen – flute – Bronx, New York

James Coen – guitar – Bronx, New York

Willie Kelly – fiddle – Parsippany, New Jersey

Regan Wick – step dancer – Washington, D.C.

Jesse Winch – bodhran (Irish drum) – Silver Spring, Maryland

Joe Cormier & Friends: Cape Breton Music

Edmund Boudreau – guitar, mandolin – Waltham, Massachusetts

Joseph Cormier – fiddle – Waltham, Massachusetts

Christine Morrison – step dancer – Tewksbury, Massachusetts

Margaret Morrison – piano – Tewksbury, Massachusetts

The DeFranco Family with Frank Cofone: Southern Italian Music & Dance

Frank Cofone – tambourine, vocals – Belleville, New Jersey

Faust DeFranco – tricaballaccia (clappers) – Belleville, New Jersey

Giuseppe DeFranco – organetto (button accordion), ciaramella (wood oboe), zampogna (bagpipes) – Belleville, New Jersey

Raffaela DeFranco – vocals, dance – Belleville, New Jersey

Fairfield Four: A Capella Gospel Music

Isaac Freeman – Nashville, Tennessee

Robert Hamlett – Nashville, Tennessee

James Hill – Nashville, Tennessee

Walter Settles – Nashville, Tennessee

Wilson Waters – Nashville, Tennessee

Richard Hagopian & Ensemble: Armenian Music

Harold Hagopian – kanun (zither) – Brooklyn, New York

Richard Avedis Hagopian – oud (lute) – Visalia, California

Hagop Jack Zarzatian, Jr. – dumbeg (Armenian drum) – Hudson, New Hampshire

Halau 'O Kekuhi: Hawaiian Hula Dance

Hokulani Kaikaina – dancer – Hilo, Hawai'i

Kekuhi Kanahele – dancer – Hilo, Hawai'i

Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele – kumu hula, chanter – Hilo, Hawai'i

Nalani Kanaka'ole – kumu hula, chanter – Hilo, Hawai'i

Malie Rea – dancer – Hilo, Hawai'i

Valerio Longoria y su Conjunto: Mexican-American Conjunto Music

Kent Bearry – drums – San Antonio, Texas

Flavio Guillen – bass guitar – San Antonio, Texas

Valerio Longoria – accordion – San Antonio, Texas

Valerio Longoria, III – guitar – San Antonio, Texas

Piedmont Blues

John Cephas – guitar, vocals – Woodford, Virginia

Phil Wiggins – harmonica – Washington, D.C.

James Jackson – guitar – Fairfax Station, Virginia

John Jackson – guitar, vocals – Fairfax Station, Virginia

Savoy Cajun Band

Ann Savoy – guitar, triangle – Eunice, Louisiana

Joel Savoy – fiddle – Eunice, Louisiana

Marc Savoy – accordion – Eunice, Louisiana

Ken Smith – fiddle – Kinder, Louisiana

Ginny Snowe – upright bass – Hyattsville, Maryland



THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

CRAFTS

Kun Boonnok – *kite maker* – Bangkok

Saroch Boonnok – *kite maker* – Bangkok

Pisarn Boonpoog – *potter* – Nonthaburi

Prasit Boontandee – *palm-leaf calligrapher* – Chiang Mai

M.L. Darunee Chakraphan – *court cook* – Bangkok

Tho Chuateng – *potter* – Nonthaburi

Charnchai – *Damrongsirirojkul – water-jar potter* – Ratchaburi

Mustoya Dormi – *Islamic calligrapher* – Yala

Suchat Kananon – *painter* – Bangkok

Pensri Keawmeesuan – *perfumer* – Bangkok

Phayon Khongsat – *pavilion builder* – Ayutthaya

Sakaya Khunpolpitak – *traditional painter* – Bangkok

Sueni Laeseng – *kris maker* – Pattani

Somsak Mutasopa – *silver-smith/goldsmith* – Surin

Sathien Nawongrak – *lacquerware maker* – Chiang Mai

Viradej Niprapan – *lacquerware maker* – Chiang Mai

Wibool Paktiang – *water-jar potter* – Ratchaburi

Sompeng Pengchan – *cotton weaver* – Chiang Mai

Achara Phanurat – *silk weaver* – Surin

Naris Pinsuwan – *benjarong painter* – Samut Songkhram

Sopis Puttarak – *foundry worker* – Bangkok

Sanun Ratana – *gilt lacquer painter* – Bangkok

Hue Saesim – *Chinese calligrapher* – Bangkok

Pian Saikaew – *silk weaver* – Surin

Khampliu Siisaan – *silk weaver* – Maha Sarakham

Khen Somjinda – *khaen (bamboo mouth organ) maker* – Roi Et

Prasarn Sookrang – *pavilion builder* – Ayutthaya

Khamson Srathong – *silk weaver* – Kalasin

Naowarat Sujanin – *cotton weaver* – Chiang Mai

M.L. Pongsawasdi – *khon maskmaker* – Ayutthaya

Thongyod Thongkham – *fiddle maker* – Ayutthaya

Nitima Timakul – *embroiderer* – Bangkok

Mantana Tonapadit – *floral artist* – Bangkok

Nattasit Yaiyoo – *court cook* – Bangkok

Hongfa Yodyoi – *drum maker* – Angthong

PERFORMANCE ARTS

Court Performance

Chamnan Duannuan – Bangkok

Sirichaicharn Fahchumroon – Bangkok

Utchara Jantee – Bangkok

Kwanjai Kongthaworn – Bangkok

Chakrayud Laisakul – Bangkok

Weerachai Meebosap – Bangkok

Dussadee Meepom – Bangkok

Tirapol Noinith – Bangkok

Sahawat Pluempreecha – Bangkok

Rudeechanok Raphiphan – Bangkok

Waraporn Ruchipetch – Bangkok

Lumyong Sovat – Bangkok

Natapong Sovat – Bangkok

Srachai Subsandee – Bangkok

Somsak Tudit – Bangkok

Warangkhana Wutthichuay – Bangkok

Lakhon Chatri

Pornthip Boonnung – Phetchaburi

Charan Chaithong – Phetchaburi

Khanittha Chantharasuk – Phetchaburi

Boontham Kaewprasit – Phetchaburi

Janya Kalnin – Phetchaburi

Chamroen Kerdrod – Phetchaburi

Rungjira Somsri – Phetchaburi

Anucha Tang On – Phetchaburi

Pimpila Tang On – Phetchaburi

Temduang Wanna – Phetchaburi

Mo Lam

Angkhanang Khunachai – Ubon Ratchathani

Chaweewan Phanthu – Ubon Ratchathani

Thongkham Phengdii – Ubon Ratchathani

Kittiwat Satanako – Roi Et

Boontham Yutthakit – Maha Sarakham

Hun Lakhon Lek

Yupin Kulanit – Nonthaburi

Somporn Panmontha – Nonthaburi

Niran Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Sakchai Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Sakorn Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Sompit Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Sunthorn Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Surin Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Tuanjai Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

Wicha Yangkeawsod – Nonthaburi

FOLKLIFE SEMINAR FOR TEACHERS, JULY 6 – 10

A group of approximately twenty teachers from the Washington, D.C., area will participate in a seminar entitled "Teaching and Learning about Cultural Diversity: An Approach Through Folklife," taught by Dr. Betty J. Belanus and Diana Baird N'Diaye from the Center staff. Following a general introduction to the subject of folklife, participants will both observe and engage in hands-on activities at Festival of American Folklife programs. Teachers will develop a plan to use folklife resources in their classrooms during the school year. It is hoped that the seminar will become an annual feature of the Festival. The seminar is co-sponsored by the Smithsonian Office of Elementary and Secondary Education.

Friday, July 1

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

	AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
11:00				
12:00	Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Education to Empower Indian Women	Mapuche Ngijatun Ceremony	History of the Mola
1:00	Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	Textile Dyeing in the Andes
2:00	From Cacao Pod to Chocolate	Environmental Issues on Indian Radio	Tarabuco Phuyllay Dance	International Trade & Local Crafts
3:00	Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	Building on Mayan Models
4:00	Indigenous Rights in the Rainforest	Education & Andean Cultural Identity	Celebration & Tourism in Taquile	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
5:00	Organic Coffee in Chiapas	Community Events on Indian Radio	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Training for Self-Management
	Organic Chocolate from Bolivia	Technology Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Jalq'a Phuyllay Dance	Taquile Textiles & Tourist Art
	Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Kuna Molas as Cultural Representations	Mapuche Women's Cultural Identity

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing; raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidery; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for
specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
 Isaan Storytelling		
Pottery Traditions	 Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
 Cooking	 Mo Lam Singing	 Khon Mask Dance-Drama Training
Festival Encounters: Lao Weaving in Thailand and the U.S.	 Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
Temple Arts	 Mo Lam Singing	 Wai Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
Cooking		
 Thai Musical Instruments	 Khon Mask Dance-Drama Performance	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater Demonstration

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning, dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquer-ware utensil making, mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction, vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00					
12:00					
	Stew Fish with Okra and Potato Bread			Gospel and Anthem and Rhyming Songs	Island Songs and Stories
		Traditional Crafts in The Bahamas	Drum Solo: Welcome to the World of Junkanoo—Junkanoo Overview	Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Goombay Rake and Scrape Music
1:00	Pineapple Tart				
		Boatbuilding in Ragged Island	The Soul of Junkanoo: The Drum		Real Life in The Bahamas
2:00	Crab Chowder			Gospel and Anthem Singing, Rhyming Songs	Island Songs and Stories
		Living through Hurricanes	Costume Design and Construction	Rhyming Songs	Calypso and Goombay Songs
3:00	Crack Conch			Gospel and Anthem and Rhyming Songs	Traditional Folk Dances of The Bahamas
		Bush Medicine	Dong-Ga-Lick: The Cowbell	Sacred Songs	Folk Songs of The Bahamas
4:00	Peas and Rice				
		Fishing in The Bahamas	The Rhythm of Junkanoo		
5:00		Bahamian Folktales			
		Living in the Central Bahamas			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

	MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00			
12:00		Opening Ceremonies	Ongoing demonstrations of western saddlemaking, Lao-American weaving, Hispanic weaving, Pueblo Indian pottery, decoy carving, Puerto Rican carnival maskmaking, Hawaiian lei making, African-American quilting, Czech-American lace-making, and split-ash basketmaking
1:00		Hawaiian Hula: Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Split-ash Basketry
2:00		Southern Italian Songs & Dances: Giuseppe & Raffaella DeFranco	Santa Clara Pueblo Pottery
3:00		Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport	Cowboy Crafts
4:00		Cape Breton Music: Joseph Cormier	Hispanic Weaving from Northern New Mexico
5:00		Chinese Pipa Music: Liang-xing Tang	Special Event: The "America on Film" series at the National Museum of American History presents "Songs of Six Families," a documentary film featuring six National Heritage Fellows, and a conversation with mariachi musician Natividad Cano.
		Mexican-American Mariachi: Natividad Cano	National Heritage Fellowships: The Fellows' Perspective
		Southern Italian Stones, Songs & Dances	Southern Italian Stones, Songs & Dances
		Piedmont Blues: John Cephas	Carmichael Auditorium, 5:30-7:30.
		Fiddle Styles	

Andean Dance Party

5:30-7:00

DANCE PARTY

Mo Lam Singing, Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama

7:00-9:00

EVENING CONCERT

Saturday, July 2

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

	AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
11:00	Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Jalq'a Lliria Dance	International Trade & Local Crafts
12:00	From Cacao Pod to Chocolate	History of Radio Latacunga	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	History of the Mola
1:00	Indigenous Peoples & International Markets	Geography Lessons in Rainforest Radio	Celebration & Tourism in Taquile	Textile Dyeing in the Andes
2:00	Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Education for Recovering Native Knowledge	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	Organizing Women's Cooperatives
3:00	Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Quichua Traditions on Indian Radio	Taquile Textiles & Tounst Art	Museums & Native Arts
4:00	Organic Coffee in Chiapas	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Tarabuco Pascua Dance	Mapuche Weavers & Natural Dyes
5:00	Cultural Diversity in a Native Federation	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Kuna Molas as Cultural Representations	Guatemala Jaspe Dyeing Techniques
	Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Education to Empower Indian Women	Mapuche Ngjatum Ceremony	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
	Drama: Conserving the Land	Folklore Festival on the Air	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Revitalizing Textile Traditions

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing; raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidery; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

	HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
11:00		Mo Lam Singing	Musical Instrument Training Demonstration
12:00	Metalworking	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
1:00	Cooking	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theatre	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Training Demonstration
2:00	Maskmaking	Mo Lam Singing	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
3:00	Islam in Thailand	Northeastern (Isaan) Traditions	Wai Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
4:00		Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	
	Buddhist Practices		
5:00	Cooking	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Performance	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater Demonstration

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning; dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquerware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction; vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
	Bahamian Folktales	What Is Junkanoo?	Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Island Songs and Stories
Boiled Fish, Grits, and Johnny Cake			"Wake and Settin' Up," Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin'" Group March	Real Life in The Bahamas
Coconut Turnover	Amos Ferguson The Artist	Costume Construction		Folk Songs of The Bahamas
	Boatbuilding in Abaco	Pasting and Decorating	Rhyming Sacred Songs	Island Songs and Stories
Crab and Grits			Gospel and Anthem Singing	Saw Music
	Festival Encounters: Basketry in Haiti and The Bahamas		Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Calypso and Goombay Songs
Roast Conch		Call and Answer: Junkanoo Horns	Rhyming Spirituals, Sacred Songs	Traditional Folk Dances of The Bahamas
	Straw Work in The Bahamas		Gospel and Anthem Singing	Saw Music
Crab and Dough	Boatbuilding in Cat Island	The Music and Dance of Junkanoo		
	Bahamian Folktales			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRA- TIONS
	Hawaiian Hula: Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Master of the Chinese Pipa
	Southern Italian Songs & Dances: Giuseppe & Raffaela DeFranco	Passing It On: Master Teachers
	Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport	Making Hawaiian Leis
	Chinese Pipa Music: Liang-xing Tang	Frames, Fames & Aims: History & Goals of the National Heritage Fellowships
	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas	Adaptation & Change in Traditional Crafts
	Cape Breton Music: Joseph Cormier	Southern Italian Stories, Songs & Dances
	Hawaiian Hula Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Conserving Culture in a New Land: Lao-American Weaving
	Mexican-American Mariachi: Natividad Cano	Traditional Music & Social Dance

Rake & Scrape Dance Party

5:30-7:00
DANCE PARTY

Bahamian Family Island Programme

7:00-9:00
EVENING CONCERT

Sunday, July 3

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

11:00	AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
	Organic Products for International Markets	A Community Wedding on Indian Radio	Mapuche Ngijatun Ceremony	International Markets for Haitian Crafts
12:00	Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture in Bolivia	Technology Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Taquile Textiles & Tounst Art	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
1:00	Organic Coffee in Chiapas	Education & Native Rights	Tarabuco Aytrichi Dance	History of the Mola
2:00	Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Building on Mayan Models
3:00	From Cacao Pod to Chocolate	Indian Radio & Land Rights	Celebration & Tounsm in Taquile	Festival Encounters: Weavers in Thailand & Bolivia
4:00	Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Education for Grassroots Development	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	Revitalizing Textile Traditions in Ecuador
5:00	Native Federation & International Chocolate	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	Cultural Identity & Mapuche Textiles
	Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Andean Fiesta	Kuna Molas as Cultural Representations
	Organic Terrace Farming in Chiapas	Popular Educators in Andean Communities		

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing; raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving, *mola* making; embroidery; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving, hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

11:00	HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
	Say Baat Buddhist Ceremony (offerings to monks) (starts at 10:30)	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Musical Instrument Training Demonstration
12:00	Mon and Khmer Traditions		
1:00	Lakhon Chatri Demonstration	Mo Lam Singing	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
2:00	Cooking	Hun Lakhon Lck Puppet Theatre	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Tratung
3:00	Buddhism in Thailand	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
4:00	Lacquerware	Mo Lam Singing	Wai Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
5:00	Cooking	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Performance	Hun Lakhon Lck Puppet Theater Demonstration
	Kite Making and Competition		

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning, dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquerware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction, vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00		Bahamian Folktales		Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Island Songs and Stories
12:00	Hull Bean Soup		The Evolution of Junkanoo		Real Bahamian Life
1:00	Crab and Rice	Generations of Straw Work	Costume Design and Construction	Traditional Worship Services	Drum Talk
2:00	Seafood Fricassee	Boatbuilding in Andros		Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Island Medleys
3:00		Asue Cooperative Banking	Wire Bending and Carving	Gospel and Anthem Singing	Traditional Folk Dances of The Bahamas
4:00	Conch Salad			Rhyming Spirituals	Island Songs and Stories
5:00	Pineapple Duff	Men in Craft			Drum Talk
		Farming in The Bahamas		Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin'" Group March	Folk Songs of The Bahamas
		Bahamian Folktales			
		Living in the Northern Bahamas			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

	MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00			
12:00	Cape Breton Music: Joseph Cormier	Decoy Carving	
1:00	Southern Italian Songs & Dances: Giuseppe & Raffaela DeFranco	Tradition & Identity: Hawaiian Hula	
2:00	Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport	Cowboy Crafts	
3:00	Chinese Pipa Music: Liang-xing Tang	Frames, Farnes & Aims: History & Goals of the National Heritage Fellowships	Ongoing demonstrations of western saddlemaking, Lao-American weaving, Hispanic weaving, Pueblo Indian pottery, decoy carving, Puerto Rican carnival maskmaking, Hawaiian lei making, African-American quilting, Czech-American lace-making, and splitash basketmaking
4:00	Mexican-American Manachi: Natividad Cano	Santa Clara Pueblo Pottery	
5:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas	African-American Quilting	
	Southern Italian Songs & Dances: Giuseppe & Raffaela DeFranco	From Generation to Generation: Family Tradition	
	Hawaiian Hula, Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Art for Community Celebrations Puerto Rican Carnival Masks	

Appalachian String Music
Cape Breton Music

5:30-7:00
DANCE PARTY

Chinese Pipa Music
Piedmont Blues
Mexican-American Manachi

7:00-9:00
EVENING CONCERT

Monday, July 4

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
11:00	Drama: Conserving the Land	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Jalq'a Malawira Dance
12:00	Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Education & Cultural Identity	Crafts for Income in Haiti
1:00	Cacao Pod to Chocolate	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Mapuche Ngijatur Ceremony
2:00	Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	The Importance of Indian Radio	Guatemalan Textiles for Development
3:00	Organic Terrace Farming in Chiapas	Technology Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Celebration & Tourism in Taquile
4:00	Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Kuna Molas as Cultural Representations
5:00	Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Community Events on Indian Radio	Taquile Textiles & Tourism Art
	Organic Production for International Markets	Education to Empower Indian Women	Tarabuco Phujllay Dance
	Cultural Diversity in a Native Federation	Folklife Festival on the Air	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing; raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidery; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
11:00	Mo Lam Singing	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
12:00	Thai Building Techniques	
1:00	Lakhon Chatin Dance-Drama	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Training
2:00	Cooking	
3:00	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theatre	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
4:00	Textiles	
5:00	Traditions of Northern Thailand	Mo Lam Singing
	Languages in Thailand	Wai Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	
	Pottery	
	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Performance	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater Demonstration

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning, dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquer-ware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction; vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00		Bahamian Folktales	Parade Prep/Shack Activity	Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin'" Group March	Maypole Plaiting, Hoop Drill, Ringplays
12:00	Okra Soup				Dicey Doh Music
		Bahamian Quilting		Rhyming Sacred Songs	Songs About My Home
1:00	Boneless Bonefish			Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Traditional Dances of Celebration
		Boatbuilding in Long Island		Sacred Songs of the Big Yard	Drum and Saw Music
2:00	Bread with Coconut and Raisin				Real Life: Songs and Skits
		The Contract			Pea Soup and Dough: Musical Mix
3:00	Flour Cakes			Gospel and Anthem Singing	The Big Gospel "Sing Off"
		Bush Teas Island to Island			Maypole Plaiting, Hoop Drill
4:00	Sauté Conch				
		Living in the Family Islands			
5:00		Bahamian Folktales			
		Living in the Southern Bahamas			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

	MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00	Cape Breton Music: Joseph Cormier	Split-ash Basketry	Ongoing demonstrations of western saddlemaking, Lao-American weaving, Hispanic weaving, Pueblo Indian pottery, decoy carving, Puerto Rican carnival maskmaking, Hawaiian lei making, African-American quilting, Czech-American lace-making, and split-ash basketmaking
12:00	Southern Italian Songs & Dances: Giuseppe & Raffaela DeFranco		
		Passing It On: Teaching & Learning	
1:00	Mexican-American Manachí: Natividad Cano		
		Fiddle Styles	
2:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas		
		Master of the Chinese Pipa	
3:00	Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport		
		Festival Encounters: Women in the Americas Weave at Home: U.S. & Chile	
4:00	Cape Breton Music: Joseph Cormier		
		Getting It Right: Truth & Beauty in Traditional Arts	
4:00	Chinese Pipa Music: Liang-xing Tang		
		Southern Italian Stones, Songs & Dances	
5:00	Hawaiian Hula Nalani & Pu'alani Kanaka'ole		
		Santa Clara Pueblo Pottery	

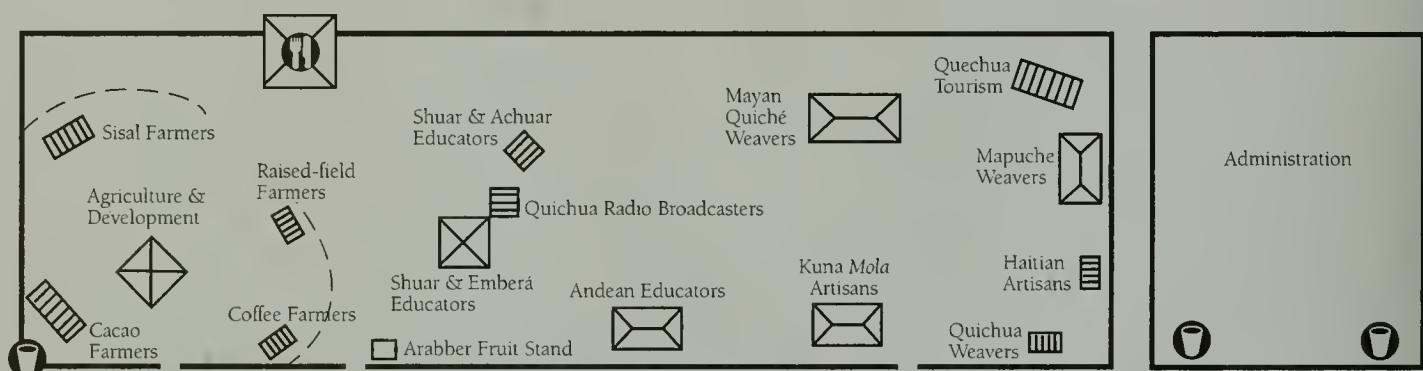
5:30	Junkanoo Rush Out
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Festival Site Map

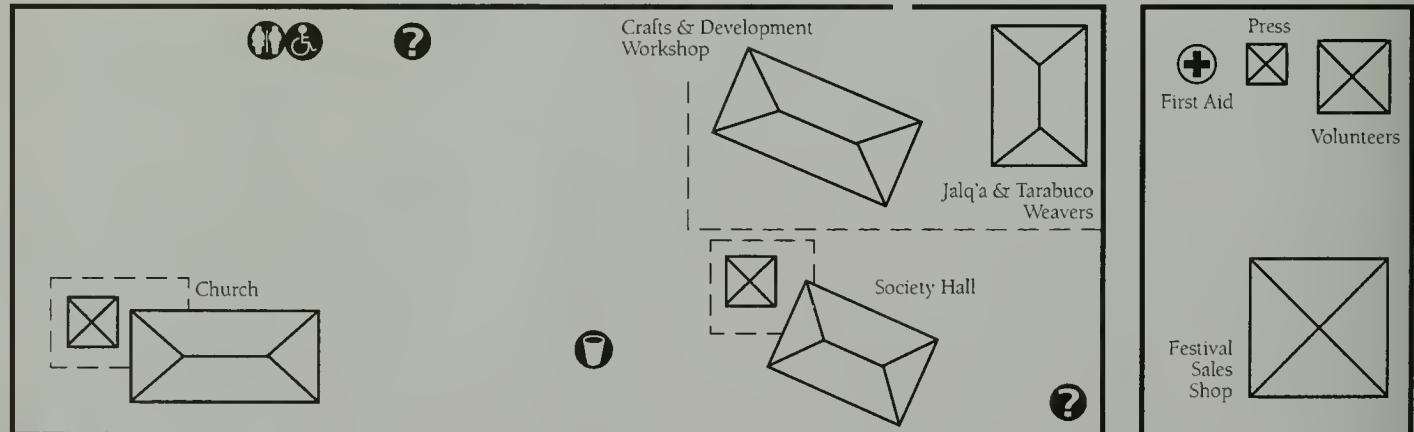
National Museum
of American History



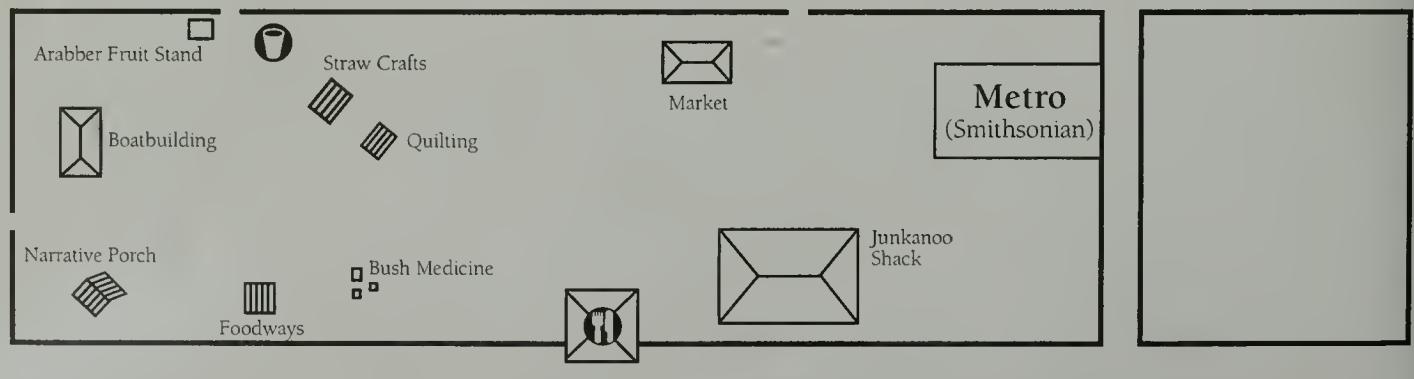
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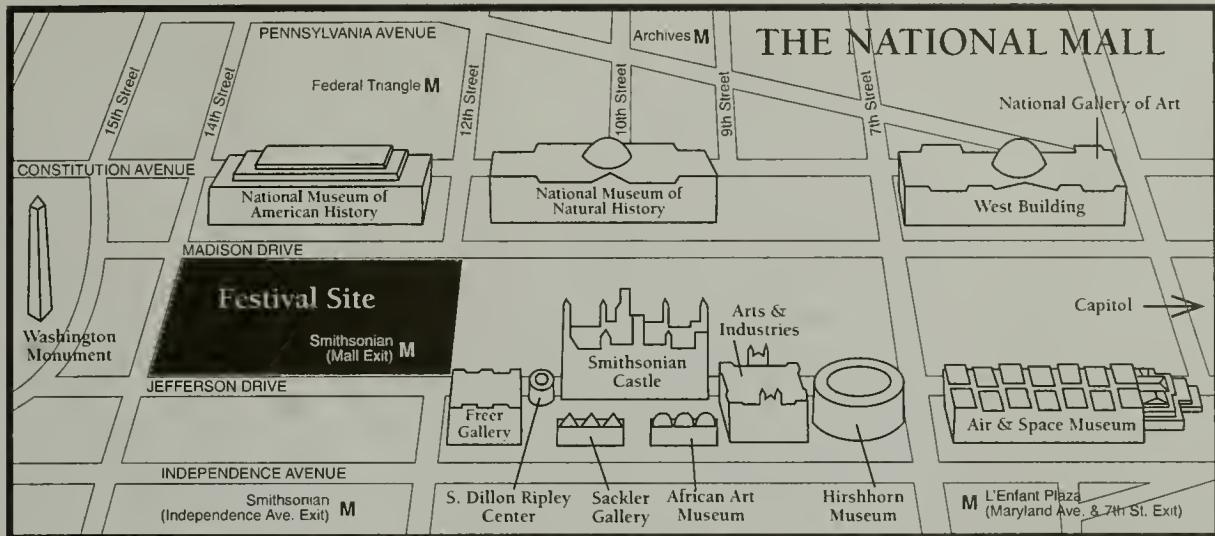


CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT



THE BAHAMAS

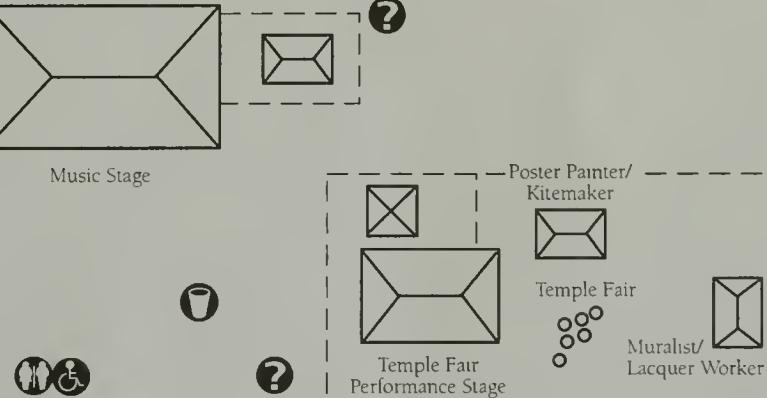




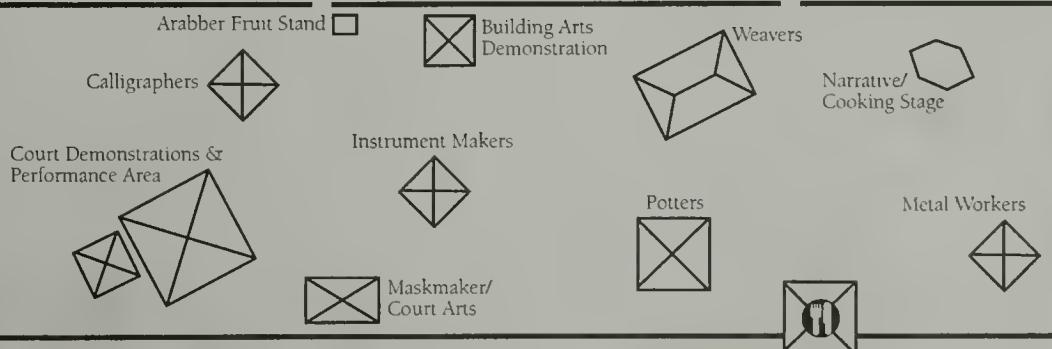
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- Festival Information
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- Beverage Concession
- ?
- Food Concession
- +
- First Aid
- ?
- Restrooms
- ?
- Accessible to Mobility Impaired



MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS



THAILAND



JEFFERSON DRIVE

Thursday, July 7

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Education to Empower Indian Women	Mapuche Ngayatun Ceremony	History of the Mola
Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	Textile Dyeing in the Andes
From Cacao Pod to Chocolate	Environmental Issues on Indian Radio	Tarabuco Phuyllay Dance	International Trade & Local Crafts
Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	Building on Mayan Models
Indigenous Rights	Education & Andean Cultural Identity	Celebration & Tourism in Taquile	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
Organic Coffee in Chiapas	Community Events on Indian Radio	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Training for Self-Management
Organic Chocolate from Bolivia	Technology Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Jalq'a Phuyllay Dance	Taquile Textiles & Tourist Art
Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Kuna Molas as Cultural Representations	Mapuche Women's Cultural Identity
Organic Terrace Farming in Chiapas	Andean Puppet Theater	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing; raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidery; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
	Lakhon Chatn Dance-Drama	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
Language		
Pottery	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Training
Cooking		
	Mo Lam Singing	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
	Lakhon Chatrri Dance-Drama	Musical Instrument Training Demonstration
Islam in Thailand		
	Mo Lam Singing	Wai Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
Cooking		
	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Performance	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater Demonstration
Isaan Storytelling		

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning; dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquer-ware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction; vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00		Bahamian Folktales	Drum Solo: Welcome to the World of Junkanoo—Junkanoo Overview	Folk Songs of Our Home	
12:00	Bottling Tomato and Tamarind Sauce			Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin"	Poetry in Song
1:00	Grouper Fingers	Straw Work: Coil and Plait	Panel Discussion: The Aftermath of the July 4th Parade	Sacred Songs from the Big Yard	Saw Music
2:00	Crack Conch	Boatbuilding in Ragged Island		Bahamian Songs of Praise	Real Life in The Bahamas
3:00		Growing Up in The Bahamas	The Soul of Junkanoo: The Drum	Folk Songs of Our Home	
4:00	Mince Crawfish	Bush Tea or Lipton?		Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin"	Poetry in Song
5:00	Coconut Tart			Rhyming Spirituals	Peas and Rice: Musical Mix
		Fishing in The Bahamas	The Rhythm of Junkanoo	Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Traditional Folk Dances of The Bahamas
		Bahamian Folktales			
		Living in the Southern Bahamas			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

	MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00		Piedmont Blues John Jackson	Art for Community Celebrations: Puerto Rican Carnival Masks
12:00		Irish-American Music: Jack Coen	Singing Styles. A Capella Gospel
1:00	Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport	Conserving Culture: Hawaiian Hula	Ongoing demonstrations of western saddlemaking, Lao-American weaving, Hispanic weaving, southern stoneware pottery, Kiowa Indian regalia making, Puerto Rican carnival maskmaking, Hawaiian lei making, African-American quilting, Czech-American lace-making, and splitash basketmaking
2:00	Mexican-American Conjunto Music: Valero Longona	Cowboy Crafts	
3:00	Armenian Music: Richard Hagopian	Traditional Art & Cultural Identity: Cajun Music	
4:00	A Capella Gospel: Fairfield Four	Kiowa Indian Regalia Making	
5:00	Hawaiian Hula Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Adaptation & Change in Traditional Crafts	
	Cajun Music: Marc Savoy	Conserving Culture in a New Land: Lao-American Weaving	

Mexican-American Conjunto Music
Armenian Music Piedmont Blues Irish-American Music

5:30-7:00 DANCE PARTY
7:00-9:00 EVENING CONCERT

Friday, July 8

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

	AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
11:00	Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Jalq'a Liwiria Dance	International Trade & Local Crafts
12:00	From Cacao Pod to Chocolate	History of Radio Latacunga	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	History of the Mola
1:00	Indigenous Peoples & International Markets	Geography Lessons in Rainforest Radio	Celebration & Tourism in Taquile	Textile Dyeing in the Andes
2:00	Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Recovering Native Knowledge	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	Organizing Women's Cooperatives
3:00	Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Quichua Traditions on Indian Radio	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Museums & Native Arts
4:00	Organic Coffee in Chiapas	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Tarabuco Pascua Dance	Mapuche Weavers & Natural Dyes
5:00	Cultural Diversity in a Native Federation	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Kuna Molas & Cultural Representations	Guatemala Jaspe Dyeing Techniques
	Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Education to Empower Indian Women	Mapuche Ngayatun Ceremony	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
	Drama: Conserving the Land	Folklife Festival on the Air	Taquile Textiles & Tourist Art	Revitalizing Textile Traditions

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing, raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidering; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

	HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
11:00		Mo Lam Singing	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
12:00	Metalworking	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Musical Instrument Training Demonstration
1:00	Cooking	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theatre	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Training
2:00	Thai Musical Instruments	Mo Lam Singing	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
3:00	Traditions of Northern Thailand	Thai Weaving	Wat Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
4:00		Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	
5:00	Buddhist Practices		Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theatre Demonstration

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning, dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquer-ware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction; vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00		Bahamian Folktales	Dong-Ga-Lick: The Cowbell	Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Folk Songs and Children's Games of The Bahamas
12:00	Conch Souse			Gospel and Anthem Singing	Traditional Dances of The Bahamas
1:00		Straw Work, Utilitarian and Decorative Plait		Rhyming Spirituals	Poetry in Song
2:00	Boneless Bonefish			Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin"	Saw Music
3:00		Boatbuilding in Abaco			Peas and Rice: Musical Mix
4:00	Steam Mutton			Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	Poetry in Song
5:00		Lodges and Friendly Societies		Rhyming Spirituals	Traditional Dances of The Bahamas
	Peas and Grits			Gospel and Anthem Singing	Goombay Rake and Scrape Music
		Men in Wood			
	Pumpkin and Spice Cake				
		Boatbuilding in Cat Island	The Music and Dance of Junkanoo		
		Bahamian Folktales			
		Vernacular Architecture			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahaman Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

	MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00			Ongoing demonstrations of western saddlemaking, Lao-American weaving, Hispanic weaving, southern stoneware pottery, Kiowa Indian regalia making, Puerto Rican carnival maskmaking, Hawaiian lei making, African-American quilting, Czech-American lace-making, and split-ash basketmaking
	Appalachian String Music Clyde Davenport	Southern Stoneware Pottery	
12:00	Piedmont Blues: John Jackson	Masters of Armenian Music	
	Insh-American Music: Jack Coen	Hispanic Weaving from Northern New Mexico	
1:00	Cajun Music: Marc Savoy	Traditional Art for Ceremony & Dance	
2:00	A Capella Gospel: Fairfield Four	Festival Encounters: National Honors for Traditional Artists: A Panel Discussion	
3:00	Hawaiian Hula: Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Insh-American Music	
4:00	Armenian Music: Richard Hagopian	Family Tradition	
5:00	Mexican-American Conjunto Music: Valeno Longoria	Split-ash Basketry	

Cajun Music
Hawaiian Hula Dance
A Capella Gospel

5:30-7:00 DANCE PARTY
7:00-9:00 EVENING CONCERT

Saturday, July 9

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
Drama: Conserving the Land	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Jalq'a Malawira Dance	Arts of Adornment
Sisal, Green Gold of the Sertão	Education & Cultural Identity	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Building on Mayan Models
Cacao Pod to Chocolate	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Mapuche Ngijatun Ceremony	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	The Importance of Indian Radio	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	History of the Mola
Organic Terrace Farming in Chiapas	Technology Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Taquileño Wedding for Tourists	Resources for Crafts in Haiti
Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Kuna Molas as Cultural Representations	Revitalizing Textile Traditions
Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Community Events on Indian Radio	Taquile Textiles & Tourist Art	Textile Dyeing in the Andes
Organic Production for International Markets	Education to Empower Indian Women	Tarabuco Phyllay Dance	International Trade & Local Crafts
Diversity in a Native Federation	Folkhfe Festival on the Air	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing, raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidery; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
Mon and Khmer Traditions	Mo Lam Singing	Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
Lakhon Chatri Demonstration		
Cooking	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theatre	Khon Mask Dance-Drama Training
Thai Building Techniques	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Lakhon Dance Training Demonstration
Temple Arts		Wai Khru Ceremony and Khon Costume Demonstration
Mo Lam Singing		
Cooking	Lakhon Chatri Dance-Drama	Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater Demonstration
Northeast (Isaan) Traditions		

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning, dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquerware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction; vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00		Bahamian Folktales	Panel Discussion: The Evolution of Junkanoo	"Wake and Settin' Up," Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin'" March	Musical Thunder and Lightning
	Souse				
		Bush Medicines and Cures			
	Fried Fish and Conch Fritters			Sacred Songs of Andros	Drum Talk
		Boatbuilding in Andros			Traditional Folk Dances of The Bahamas
	Colored Bean Soup With Duff			Gospel and Anthem Singing	
		Festival Encounters, Bahamian and African-American Vocal Styles		Sacred Songs of The Bahamas	
	Pineapple Duff			Rhyming Spirituals	
		Straw Work: Knot or Flat		"Wake and Settin' Up," Ceremonial Songs	
	Roast Conch			"Rushin'" March	Drum and Saw Music
12:00			Costume Design and Construction		
1:00			The Rhythm of Junkanoo		
2:00			Shack Activity		
3:00					
4:00					
5:00					

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00	Hawaiian Hula: Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole A Capella Gospel: Fairfield Four Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport Irish-American Music: Jack Coen Piedmont Blues: John Jackson Armenian Music: Richard Hagopian Kiowa Indian Regalia Making Cajun Music: Marc Savoy Mexican-American Conjunto Music: Valerio Longona	From Generation to Generation: Family Tradition Accordion Styles Frames, Fames & Aims: The History & Goals of the National Heritage Fellowships Conserving Culture in a New Land: Lao-American Weaving Traditional Arts & Cultural Identity Armenian Music: Richard Hagopian Kiowa Indian Regalia Making Art for Community Celebrations: Puerto Rican Carnival Masks Getting It Right: Truth & Beauty in the Traditional Arts
12:00		
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		
4:00		
5:00		

Andean Dance Party
Khon Mask Dance-Drama Performance Hun Lakhon Lek Puppet Theater

5:30-7:00

DANCE PARTY

7:00-9:00

EVENING CONCERT

Sunday, July 10

CULTURE & DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

AGRICULTURE & DEVELOPMENT	COMMUNICATIONS & MAPMAKING	CRAFTS, DANCE & CEREMONY	CRAFTS & DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP
Organic Products for International Markets	A Community Wedding on Indian Radio	Mapuche Ngijatun Ceremony	International Markets for Haitian Crafts
Recovering Pre-Inka Agriculture	Technology Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Taquile Textiles & Tourist Art	Revitalizing Textiles in Bolivia
Organic Coffee in Chiapas	Education & Native Rights	Tarabuco Ayirichi Dance	History of the <i>Mola</i>
Struggle & Sisal in Brazil	Mapmaking & Native Rights	Crafts for Income in Haiti	Building on Mayan Models
From Cacao Pod to Chocolate	Indian Radio & Land Rights	Celebration & Tourism in Taquile	Festival Encounters: The Festival Experience: From Home to the National Mall
Agriculture & Archeology in Bolivia	Education for Grassroots Development	Textiles Empower Mapuche Women	Revitalizing Textile Traditions in Ecuador
Native Federation & International Chocolate	Language Lessons on Rainforest Radio	Guatemalan Textiles for Development	Cultural Identity & Mapuche Textiles
Sisal, Green Gold of the <i>Sertão</i>	Mapmaking & Natural Resources	Andean Pukara Fiesta	Kuna Molas & Cultural Representations
Organic Terrace Farming in Chiapas	Popular Educators in Andean Communities		

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Agriculture & Development: Sisal, organic coffee, and cacao processing; raised-field farming.

Communications & Mapmaking: radio broadcasting; mapmaking; educational methods.

Crafts, Dance & Ceremony: dyeing and weaving; *mola* making; embroidering; basket and hat making; furniture making; metal working.

Crafts & Development Workshop: weaving; hat making; musical instrument making.

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information.

THAILAND: HOUSEHOLD, TEMPLE FAIR & COURT

HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE STAGE	TEMPLE FAIR PERFORMANCE STAGE	COURT PERFORMANCE STAGE
<i>Tham Boon</i> Buddhist Ceremony (chanting and offerings to monks) (starts at 10:30)	<i>Mo Lam</i> Singing	 Ramwong and Social Dance Demonstration
Maskmaking	<i>Lakhon Chatri</i> Dance-Drama	 <i>Khon</i> Mask Dance-Drama Training
Cooking	<i>Hun Lakhon Lek</i> Puppet Theatre	<i>Lakhon</i> Dance Training Demonstration
Thai Buddhism	 <i>Mo Lam</i> Singing	Musical Instrument Training Demonstration
Lacquerware	<i>Lakhon Chatri</i> Dance-Drama	<i>Wai Khru</i> Ceremony and <i>Khon</i> Costume Demonstration
Isaan Stories	Kite Making and Competitions	<i>Hun Lakhon Lek</i> Puppet Theater Demonstration
	Cooking	

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Household Area: kris making; amulet making; jewelry making; silk and cotton spinning, dyeing, and weaving; pottery; musical instrument making.

Temple Fair Area: poster painting; kite making; lacquerware utensil making; mural painting; lacquer gilding.

Court Arts Area: mask making; perfume making; floral decorating; embroidery; calligraphy; pavilion construction, vegetable carving.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs.
Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol 

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

	FOODWAYS	NARRATIVE PORCH	JUNKANOO SHACK	CHURCH MUSIC	SOCIETY HALL
11:00					
12:00	Benne Cake and Coconut Cake 		The Soul of Junkanoo: The Drum	Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin'" March	Maypole Plaiting, Hoop Drill, Ringplays
1:00	Scorch Conch	Textiles: Quilting and Piece Spreads	The Rhythm of Junkanoo		Goombay Songs
2:00	Boatbuilding in Long Island 			Rhyming Spirituals	Drum and Saw Music
3:00	Banana Bread	The Contract	Panel Discussion: Festival Wrap Up with Smithsonian and Bahamian panelists 	Gospel and Anthem Singing	Dances of Celebration
4:00	Conch Fricassee with Conch and Rice	Shell and Wood Crafts		Sacred "Mour" Music	Independence Music Revelry
5:00	Guava Duff 	Nassau: From Town to City 	Festival Finale	Ceremonial Songs, "Rushin"	Goombay Songs
		Bahamian Folktales		Big Gospel "Sing Off"	Maypole Plaiting, Hoop Drill, and Ringplays
		Living in the Northern Bahamas			

ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS:

Straw work, shell work, wood carving, boatbuilding, quilting, kite making, bush medicine, Junkanoo crafts, goatskin drum and cowbell making, folk painting and doll making.

"Bahamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson," an exhibition of the paintings of Amos Ferguson, Bahamian folk artist, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery, next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition will be open to the public July 1-10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

MASTERS OF TRADITIONAL ARTS

	MUSIC STAGE	NARRATIVE STAGE	ONGOING DEMONSTRATIONS
11:00	Appalachian String Music: Clyde Davenport	Passing It On: Master Teachers	
12:00	Piedmont Blues: John Jackson	Masters of Armenian Music 	
1:00	Insh-American Music: Jack Coen	Southern Stoneware Pottery 	Ongoing demonstrations of western saddlemaking, Lao-American weaving, Hispanic weaving, southern stoneware pottery, Kiowa Indian regalia making, Puerto Rican carnival maskmaking, Hawaiian lei making, African-American quilting, Czech-American lace-making, and splitash basketmaking
2:00	A Capella Gospel: Fairfield Four	Cowboy Crafts 	
3:00	Hawaiian Hula: Nalani & Pualani Kanaka'ole	Traditional Music & Social Dance 	
4:00	Armenian Music: Richard Hagopian	Making Hawaiian Leis 	
5:00	Cajun Music: Marc Savoy	Singing Styles: A Capella Gospel 	
	Mexican-American Conjunto Music: Valerio Longona	The National Heritage Fellowships: The Fellows' Perspective 	

Rake & Scrape Dance Party

5:30-7:00
DANCE PARTY

Bahamian Family Island Programme

7:00-9:00
EVENING CONCERT 

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The Festival of American Folklife is supported in part by Federal appropriations and Smithsonian Trust Funds. Additionally,

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Coordinator: Arlene Reiniger

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Curators: M.R. Chakrarot Chitrabongs, Richard Kennedy

Coordinators: Charlene Day, Jaree Limlamai
Interns: Alexandra Choby, Rani Vivathanachai

Design Advisor: M.L. Termsang Sabpaso

Community Liaison: Vichai Malikul

Translators: Prawet Jantharat, Wiboon Nakomjarupong

Festival Aide: Apinya Ramakomud

Research Coordinator: Kulwadee Charoensri

Researchers: Raweewan Chaumpuek, Pamela S. DaGrossa, At Nanthachak, Chachurat Unphikun, Sompeng Pengchan, Vithi Phanichphant, Munee Phanthawee, Achara Phanurat, Montree Poliyum, Suthee Samdaengdej, Sanaeh Seetalarom, Wajuppa Tossa, Manoo Udomwetch, Sunan Udomwetch, Lynda Yin Ping Wong

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The 1994 Featured Recording

ROYAL COURT MUSIC OF THAILAND

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Recorded 1994, Bangkok, Thailand. Beautiful new studio recordings highlighting vocal and instrumental music of the classical Thai repertory. These royal court pieces were composed by Thai monarchs primarily in the late 19th and early 20th century. The final piece was composed recently by H.R.H. Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, daughter of the present King.

Produced in collaboration with the External Relations Division of the Thailand Office of the National Culture Commission and in conjunction with the 1994 Festival of American Folklife program "Thailand: Household, Temple Fair, and Court."

The mask of Hanuman, monkey god in the epic Ramakien, is worn in performances of khon, a Thai dance-drama.

Image courtesy Department of Fine Arts, Bangkok



Recordings of Musical Traditions from Previous Festivals

1993:

BORDERLANDS: From Conjunto to Chicken Scratch: Music of the Rio Grande Valley and Southern Arizona, SF 40418.

Featuring musical traditions of the U.S./Mexico border region. The recordings were licensed from four record companies specializing in this region's music and represent a variety of borderland genres.

1992:

DRUMS OF DEFIANCE: Music of the Jamaican Maroons, the Earliest Free Black Communities in the Americas, SF 40412.

NEW MEXICO: Native American Traditions, SF 40408.

NEW MEXICO: Hispanic Traditions, SF 40409.

1991:

MUSIC OF INDONESIA 1: Songs Before Dawn, SF 40055.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA 2: Indonesian Popular Music, SF 40056.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA 3: Music from the Outskirts of Jakarta, SF 40057.

MUSIC OF INDONESIA 4: Music of Nias and North Sumatra, SF 40420.

1990:

PUERTO RICAN MUSIC IN HAWAII, SF 40014.

HAWAIIAN DRUM DANCE CHANTS: Sounds of Power in Time, SF 40015.

1989:

MUSICS OF THE SOVIET UNION, SF 40002.

TUVA: Music from the Center of Asia, SF 40017.

BUKHARA: Musical Crossroads of Asia, SF 40050.

Recent Smithsonian/Folkways Releases*

WADE IN THE WATER VOLUME 1: African American Spirituals: The Concert Tradition, SF 40072. 1993 recordings featuring world-renowned Fisk Jubilee Singers, Florida A&M University Concert Choir, Howard University Chamber Choir, and others.

WADE IN THE WATER VOLUME 2: African American Congregational Singing: 19th Century Roots, SF 40073. Recorded in 1989 and 1992, features highly charged ring shouts, lined hymns, and call-and-response devotional songs.

WADE IN THE WATER VOLUME 3: African American Gospel: The Pioneering Composers, SF 40074. With performances by Sweet Honey in the Rock, Gloria Griffin, and others to celebrate the legacy of composers such as Thomas Dorsey, Roberta Martin, Charles Tindley, and others.

WADE IN THE WATER VOLUME 4: African American Community Gospel, SF 40075. 1992-1993 recordings featuring performances from Alabama and Washington, D.C. Includes *Jesus is on the Mainline*, *Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray*, *Hold to God's Unchanging Hand*, and others.

CISCO HOUSTON: The Folkways Years, 1944-1961, SF 40059. A 29-song anthology (with 8 previously unreleased tracks, including 2 duets with Woody Guthrie) honoring this vital figure of American folk music.

WOODY GUTHRIE: Long Ways to Travel, The Unreleased Folkways Masters, 1944-1949, SF 40046. Seventeen unreleased performances selected from dozens of unissued discs archived by the Smithsonian when it acquired Folkways Records in 1987. Includes rare photos and extensive notes.

DOC WATSON AND CLARENCE ASHLEY: The Original Folkways Recordings, 1960-1962, SF 40029/30. Doc Watson's first recordings, produced by Ralph Rinzler. Now available as a major double CD and cassette reissue with 48 selections, including 20 previously unreleased. The 34-page CD booklet is packaged in a stunning slipcase.

MOUNTAIN MUSIC OF PERU VOLUME 2, SF 40406. A 74-minute Folkways reissue with 10 previously unreleased tracks. Features stunning panpipe ensembles and many other vocal and instrumental styles recorded in Andean communities in 1966 and 1986.

BOSNIA: Echoes of an Endangered World, Music and Chant of the Bosnian Muslims, SF 40407. This benefit recording was made before the recent violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Features beautiful recordings of Muslim singing traditions including a variety of folk and religious styles.

BILL MONROE AND THE BLUEGRASS BOYS: Live Recordings, 1956-1969, SF 40063. Previously unreleased recordings, produced and annotated by Ralph Rinzler. Presents 75 minutes of historic performances featuring Monroe with Peter Rowan, Bill Keith, Del McCoury, and many others.

BILL MONROE AND DOC WATSON: Live Duet Recordings, 1963-1980, SF 40064. Produced and annotated by Ralph Rinzler. 17 previously unreleased rare duet performances by these masters with *Soldier's Joy*, *Banks of the Ohio*, *Fire on the Mountain*, *Foggy Mountain Top*, and others.

* available on CD and Cassette

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Two of the ways the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies supports the continuity and integrity of traditional artists and cultures. Folkways Records, founded by Moses Asch in 1947, was acquired by the Smithsonian in 1987 to ensure that all the recordings remain available as a service to scholars, musicians, and the general public.

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